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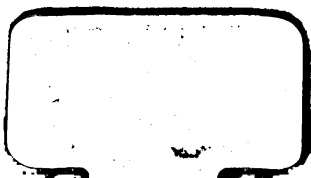
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XBP-Vol 1









THE  
Present State  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC  
OF  
LETTERS.

For January, 1728.

VOL. I.

—*Fungar vice cotis, acutum*  
*Relere quæ ferrum valet, exfors ipsa secandi.*  
Horat.

L O N D O N:

Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNYS,  
at the West End of St. Paul's. MDCCXXVIII.

Price One Shilling.

## BOOKS printed for W. and J. INNY S.

1. **N**ew Memoirs of Literature ; containing an Account of New Books, printed both at Home and Abroad : With Dissertations upon several Subjects, Miscellaneous Observations, &c. From Jan. 1725, to Dec. 1727. incl.. In Six Volumes, 8vo. N. B. any of them may be had separate.

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7. An Enquiry into the Evidence of the Christian Religion. 8vo, 1728.



# T H E P R E F A C E.

**T**H E design of informing the Curious, by a kind of Journal, of what passes from time to time in the Republic of Letters, is so universally approved, that it is needless to say any thing here in favour of it. The first Essay of this nature was the *Journal des Sçavans*, which was published in 1665 by Mr. Sallo, Ecclesiastical Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris; and no sooner did it appear, but the learned men of several nations, charmed with so useful and so agreeable a project, testified their approbation of it, some by translating, others by imitating his Journals.

No country in the world furnishes greater plenty of good materials for such a work than England, as there is none where arts and sciences are cultivated with greater encouragement, or better success. Here the greatest men in the State, are often also the brightest ornaments of the Republic of Letters, and promote learning as much by their example, as by their protection. Where do we meet with such noble

ble foundations as in our Universities ? or where can a man study with so great advantages in every respect ? And where can merit hope to be rewarded with better preferments, either in Church or State ? Nor can we, like other nations, complain of the want of liberty, which is the nursing-mother of knowledge, and absolutely necessary both to the discovery and progress of truth. Had *Milton* lived in our days, he would have had no occasion for writing his treatise *de Typographia liberanda* ; for we are far enough from slavery in this respect. Every man may think as he pleases, and publish his speculative opinions whatever they be, without the difficulty of obtaining a License from a partial or superstitious Censor, or standing in fear of an Inquisition and an *Auto da Fé*. So mild is our Government both in Church and State ; as being fully convinced of this maxim, That truth needs neither force nor artifice to support it.

'Tis to this happy liberty, both of conscience and the press, so much envied by our neighbours, that we owe those many excellent books which are daily printed in England. This has enabled us to make those discoveries and improvements in almost every part of knowledge, which have gained so great a reputation to the English writers abroad, that our language is now studied by foreigners as a learned one. No Englishman can wish this liberty abridged, but he who envies the glory of his country, and the advancement of learning and of truth.

To this liberty we are also indebted for the free importation and use of foreign books, by means of which we reap the benefit of all the improvements made by the learned in every part  
of

of Europe. This renders such a Journal as I have been speaking of very useful, and almost necessary to the curious, who cannot possibly read, or even dip into all the new books that come out.

The ingenious and learned Mr. *La Roche*, who for some years past has written *the Memoirs of Literature* with general applause, having thought fit to discontinue that useful work, it was to be wished that some person sufficiently qualified would have undertaken it : But as no other offered, rather than see it drop entirely, I have ventured to supply his place ; not perhaps without rashness.

And indeed, when I reflect upon the great number of very different and important subjects I shall be obliged to handle ; when I consider the judiciousness, the accuracy, and entertaining variety with which some of the foreign Journals are written, I am afraid I have undertaken too hard a task ; and nothing could hinder me from throwing it up, but the hope that my readers are as sensible of the difficulty of it as I am, and that they will be the more indulgent to me, especially in my first attempts to please them.

Besides, some of the foreign Journals are the Work of a Society ; and indeed it is hardly possible that an undertaking of this nature should be well executed by a single hand. For which reason I intreat the assistance of all those who wish well to the progress of Learning, and beg they will favour me from time to time with extracts of curious books, with such original pieces, and accounts of new inventions and machines, or any other improvements even in mechanical arts, as are fit to be communicated to the publick.

lick. In which case, I shall either mention their names, or observe a religious silence as they shall desire.

But I think it proper to declare beforehand, that I will have nothing to do with scandal or satyr, or whatever reflects upon any one's person or reputation ; nor will I engage in any party quarrels. My remarks shall be entirely confined to matters of learning and ingenuity ; in which I shall endeavour to keep a due medium between abject flattery and rigid censure. Nor yet am I so vain as to set up for a judge. I shall indeed take the liberty now and then to give my own opinion, without any partiality ; but I desire it may always be looked upon only as my private opinion. However, I shall endeavour not to incur the just displeasure of any.

And in order to avoid it, I shall enter into no religious controversies, any further than to give an impartial view of the arguments used on either side of a question ; and so much I think I may and am obliged to do.

*Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habebo.*

As to the rest of my Plan, 'tis pretty much the same with that of the other Journalists, which is sufficiently known. I shall give extracts of the most curious and useful new books that appear either at home or abroad, with an account of the subject, and the Author's manner of handling it ; and these I shall endeavour to diversify as much as possible. Nor will I neglect new editions of old books, especially when attended with additions, notes, corrections, or any other particular advantages. And to satisfy the curiosity of those who are desirous to know the state of learning more particularly,  
I shall

I shall at the end of every Journal give an account how the presses are employed both at home and abroad, according to the best of my intelligence. I hope I shall oblige the Public, by inserting all such small pieces as are rare and valuable, to prevent (as far as I can) their being lost.

The Eloges of men that have been eminent in the Republic of Letters do also naturally belong to a work of this kind : and 'tis hoped that when any such die, their friends will be so good to us, and so just to their memories, as to furnish us with accounts of their lives : a point in which we have hitherto been too negligent of the honour of our country. The learned of all nations, and every man of our own, owe so much respect to the illustrious name of Sir Isaac Newton, that I could not omit the Panegyric of so great a man, written by so masterly a hand as Mr. Fontenelle. The character of either the one or the other singly is enough to recommend it. Indeed, the bare recital of Sir Isaac's Life and Works, is so great an Encomium upon him, that Mr. Fontenelle seems to have thought it wanted no other ornaments, and that there was no occasion for that agreeable art he has used in setting off the characters of other great men. I am persuaded I need make no apology for inserting it, though it be pretty long ; especially seeing it is accompanied with remarks, that to some may not perhaps appear unnecessary. I ought however to acquaint the Reader, that the two first sheets being printed off before I resolved to publish this Eloge, is the reason that he will not meet with greater variety in this first Essay, though there be a sheet added extraordinary ; but I shall endeavour to make him amends in time to come.

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THE





THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

For JANUARY 1728.

ARTICLE I.

LA RELIGION des GAULOIS, tirée des plus pures Sources de l'Antiquité. Par le R. P. Dom \* \* \* Religieux Bénédictin de la Congregation de S. Maur. Ouvrage enrichi de Figures en Taille-douce. A Paris chez Saugrain Fils. 1727.

That is,

AN ACCOUNT of the Religion of the Gauls, taken from ancient Authors and Monuments. In Two Volumes 4to. JANUARY 1728. B The

The first contains 535 pages ; the second, 513 : besides the Preface, Contents, and a Discourse on the Manners and Customs of ancient *Gaul*.



THE Subject of this Work is certainly very curious ; but seems withal so barren, that one would wonder how the Author could fill up above a thousand Pages in 4to upon it. The ancient Writers say very little of it, and in what they do say, often contradict one another. And indeed, how could it be otherwise ? seeing it was a Maxim among the Druids, not only to commit no part of their Religion to writing, but to instruct none in it, except such as were of their own Order. Notwithstanding these and other difficulties, which have hitherto deterr'd the most curious Enquirers into Antiquity from attempting to give a full and clear View of the Celtic Religion, our Author has ventur'd to present this work as such to the Publick.

In order to form a right judgment of it, we must observe, that none of the Ancients, except Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, Strabo, and Pliny the Naturalist, have professedly treated of the Religion of the Gauls ; and they too have done it so superficially, and in so concise a stile, that all of them put together would not fill three or four pages of this Book.

To supply this defect, the Author thought himself obliged to read over all the Greek and Roman writers with a great deal of attention, so that nothing relating to his Subject might escape

**Art. 1. *the Republick of Letters.*** **3**

his notice : and afterwards to range, compare, reject, reconcile, or unite all those scattered Hints of so many different Authors. This was a fatigue, which nothing but the most obstinate Industry or Curiosity could have carried him through. But what gave him the greatest trouble, was the manifest Contradictions of Authors upon this Subject. They all agree that the Religion of the Gauls was different from that of all other Countries, and mention it only to show that difference ; and yet they confound it with that of the Greeks and Romans, whose Deities they pretend to find among those of Gaul. The Moderns, says he, have all followed them in that mistake, and have by that means entirely disfigured the Celtic Religion. Every body, for instance, says that the Esus of the Gauls was the same as Mars ; and as they had but little to say of Esus, they tacked to it all that the Greeks and Romans ever said or thought of the God of War. Instead therefore of being assisted by the Moderns, our Author was forced to work his own way through all difficulties ; besides the danger of engaging in a Controversy, and making himself enemies, by advancing an opinion which is contrary to that of almost all the Learned.

He was not content with examining the Greek and Roman writers only : He consulted all the ancient Monuments of Gaul ; he studied the Histories of those Nations that had any Alliance with, or relation to it ; and even learned the Language of Bretaigne, because it is supposed to be the Remains of the Celtic. If after all this, he should be found to have fallen into any mistakes upon so obscure a Subject ; he

ought at least to be highly commended, for having taken so much pains to discover the truth. I do not find, however, and I much wonder at it, that he has made any use of those Remains of the Druids, to be met with in Britain and Ireland, whereof Mr. Toland has given us a Specimen in his Letters to the Lord Moleworth, and by the help of which chiefly he designed to compile a History of the Druids ; nor of Mr. Rowland's curious Collection of Monuments and Remarks, in his *Mona Antiqua restaurata*.

As the Druids had the chief hand in the management of all public Affairs, the Religion of the Gauls contains the best part of their History ; which is therefore to be found in this Work, and renders it doubly entertaining and curious, as we are thereby enabled to form a solid judgment of the character of that People, their Manners, Genius, Maxims, Policy, and Independence ; their Passion for Liberty, and Contempt of Life ; their Disinterestedness, and Desire of Glory ; their Proneness to Despair, and Cruelty ; in short, of all the Good and Ill, that made up their general Character.

Though the Author's principal design be to treat of the Religion of the Gauls, yet it frequently leads him to that of the Greeks, Romans, Jews, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, the ancient Germans, Britons, Celtiberi, and Cisalpine Gauls, and generally of all the People of the North.

As to the Gods that were peculiar to the Gauls, the Author generally explains their Names, gives an account of their Worship, with a description of their Figures, or a representation

## Art. I. *the Republick of Letters.* 5

sentation of them, where it could be had; and also the time, place, and other circumstances of the discovery of such monuments. By this means the work is interspersed with curious enquiries of several kinds. I must not omit that he pretends the primitive religion of the Gauls was derived from the antient Patriarchs and Jews, and therefore makes use of it to explain several passages of the Scripture, Fathers, and Councils, which, he says, cannot perhaps be otherwise understood.

Having thus given a general Idea of the Author's Design, and his Manner of executing it, I shall add a short Extract of the Discourse upon the Manners and Customs of the Gauls.

The Gauls, says he, came at different times from the Northern Parts of Asia by Colonies, which the Antients called *Ver Sacrum*, and settled in that Country which is now divided into France, Flanders, and the rest of the Low Countries; where they preserved the Form of Government they had received from their Ancestors, the Traces whereof are still to be found in the North from whence they came. They were composed of at least an hundred different Cantons, united by general and fundamental Laws. In the mean time, every Canton had its particular Senate, King or *Vergobret*; but upon extraordinary Occasions they chose one to be Chief of the whole Nation, and assigned him a Council, to which all the Magistrates of particular Cantons were obliged to submit. This Dictator was elected by the Deputies of all the Cantons; but the King and Vergobret by the three different States of each particular Canton, *viz.* the Druids, Nobles, and Commons, among

B 3

mong whom the Druids had always the Preference and chief Authority. The Power of the General lasted only till the Conclusion of the Affair for which he was elected; that of the King being commonly for Life, but that of the Vergobret, though otherwise equal to the King's, was only annual.

Women were at first admitted into the Government, but afterwards confined to Household-affairs, with express Orders to inspire into their Children the Sentiments of the Nation, and never to let them appear either in publick, or before their Father, till they were able to do him Honour; that is, till they were fit to carry Arms.

Honours and Posts were not hereditary; and though the Nobility alone could pretend to them, that without Merit and Valour was not a sufficient Recommendation. In some Cantons, when a Person had enjoyed the Honour of being Vergobret, no other of his Family could aspire to it during his Life.

They had no fix'd place for holding their Diets; but when it was once appointed, every one made what haste he could to it, because whoever came last, it cost him his life. In these Diets the King or Vergobret was always the Speaker, and proposed the affair on which they were to deliberate. Their Votes were free, and that of the meanest in the Assembly was of equal validity with that even of the head of the Druids. However, the Election of any Person to an Office was not reckoned legal, if he had not the Approbation of the Druids. The Soldarii contributed very much to maintain the Authority of the Nobles. That Name was given to certain Societies of Gauls, who having need  
of

of a powerful Protector, devoted themselves to the service of some Great Man, whose interests they upon all occasions espoused, and whom they always accompanied even to death itself.

The King, Vergobret, and all Magistrates, were obliged in every thing to consult the publick Good ; and forfeited their Authority, if they did not. They were never allowed to go out of the Canton. If they exceeded their Powers, they were punish'd with the most cruel torments, which always ended in death. Thus, says our Author, *The People retained no less Authority over them, than they themselves had over the People.* These Regulations were owing to that love of Liberty, to which they sacrificed every thing that they held most dear ; their Wives, Children, Fortunes, and even their Lives. But as the love of Liberty is not more natural, than Ambition and a desire of Glory, those Cantons that found themselves the most powerful, came in time to pretend to a sort of superiority over the rest. The *Ædui* and *Arverni* disputed that honour a long time ; while the rest of the Cantons joined, some with one side, some with the other, as their interests or inclinations led them. Though this was owning themselves, in some measure, subject to that Canton, whose quarrel they espoused ; yet they looked upon it as a real slavery, to be obliged to acknowledge any superiority in the other. So natural is it for Mankind to hate a Master, unless they may be slaves their own way.

The Rivalship of these two Cantons, and the Ambition which possess'd all the Gauls of conquering foreign Nations, occasioned their being almost always in arms, either to defend themselves, or attack others. They were of so martial

tial a Genius, and such intrepid Courage, that had their Valour been guided by Art and Discipline, they might probably have bid fair for the Empire of the World. But they neither practised, nor understood any stratagem or art in War. They were under no Discipline either in the Camp or Field. Their Arms were only a Bow and Arrows, a Buckler, Sword, and Javelin. Yet with all these disadvantages, and with such sorry Arms, they performed such wonders, as made them the most terrible enemies the Romans ever had \*. Add to all this, that they often fought quite naked, and for the most part covered their bodies only to the waste ; yet so little were they afraid of meeting death, that they advanced to the attack singing and dancing, and shouting for joy.

Their Cavalry was much better than their Infantry ; and therefore to strengthen the latter, they mixed them together. They also used chariots to break the ranks of the enemy ; but as soon as they had darted their javelins, they usually alighted and fought on foot. They had the invention of Mines, but knew not the use, nor even the names or figures of Machines in sieges. Accordingly they begun the storming of a place with a shower of stones, in order to clear the walls, which they immediately endeavoured to mount sword in hand.

But their forwardness cost them often very dear, especially when they had to do with the Romans. For as soon as they received any check in their career, surprised at a turn which they did not expect, they were thrown into the

\* *Salust. Jugurth. sub fin. Romani sic habuere cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certari*



utmost confusion, disorder and stupidity; so that they either stood tamely till they were cut to pieces, or flinging down their arms presented the right shoulder naked, which was the Men's way of begging quarter; the Women uncovered their breasts, and threw their money and cloaths to the soldiers.

They were not more naturally inclined to war, than to be civil and obliging to strangers, whom they usually invited to their houses without any acquaintance. After they had entertained them handsomely, they enquired their name, their country, the occasion of their journey, what news they had, and a thousand such questions. And so great was their curiosity to hear any thing new, that they stopped passengers, and carried them to some publick place, where the people immediately assembled in crouds, and entred into conversation with them.

Their food was chiefly milk, and all sorts of meat, especially pork, both fresh and salt. Their children waited upon them at table, which was covered with a skin instead of a cloth. Their dishes were of coarse earthen ware, and very clumsy. Their common drink was beer. They were in general very abstemious and sober, as appears by their fining those who grew too fat. The Belgæ particularly exceeded the other Gauls in this respect; for they prohibited the importation of every thing that might emasculate the mind, or enervate the body; and especially of wine, with which the Romans took care to furnish those parts of Gaul that would admit it.

Though each Gaul had power of life and death in his own family, yet they used their wives very well.

well. When they married, whatever fortune the wife brought, the husband put as much to it; and that sum, with all the interest of it, belonged to the survivor of them two.

The northern Belgæ that lived nearest the Rhine had no town, at least that we know of: but the other Cantons had each one at least, which always carried the name of that Canton of which it was the capital. They were generally built on eminences, in marshes, by rivers, or in islands made by the concurrence of rivers. Their houses were round, and very large; the roof being arched, and thatched with straw or reeds. They had also secret caves under ground, into which they retired with their families and effects at the approach of too strong an enemy. The Nobles dwelt in the country by the side of a wood or morass, not only on account of the air, but for the conveniency of hunting, which, next to war, was their greatest delight. They were also distinguished from the Commons by their beards, which they let grow to a considerable length, shaving only their cheeks. Whereas the Commons were either shaved quite smooth, or at least left but a very little beard. They were naturally of a fair complexion, which they endeavoured to improve by a sort of paint made of the chalk of the country. They likewise used a hot iron to give a reddish colour to their hair, though it was generally fair. They never cut it, but only curled it, tied it upon the crown of the head, and so let it hang down behind. This is the common opinion of Authors, and it is justified by one monument only; whereas there are abundance that represent the Gauls with short hair, and parted in the middle.

As

As for their Dress, they generally wore a tunic, a *Sagum* with sleeves, breeches, and a sort of pumps without heels. In winter the *Sagum* was made of a thick, woolly stuff, in summer it was thin and light, but always striped with purple and other colours, [like the Highland Plaids.] Over it they sometimes wore a cloak, very different from that of the Greeks and Romans. The bottom of it, as well as of their other cloaths, was sometimes indented quite round. To these ornaments they added collars and bracelets, which were commonly of gold.

The Author finishes this general account of the Gauls, by telling us they were a people of great honour and ingenuity; that while the rest studied only Eloquence and War, the Druids cultivated all the Sciences, and neglected nothing that might improve them.

This Work is divided into five Books, the first of which treats of the Religion of the Gauls in general; its Antiquity, Temples, Altars, Victims, Priests, Priestesses, and Ceremonies; of the Origin of human Sacrifices, of the sacrificing Instruments, and the meaning of certain Symbols, &c. The second treats of the principal Gods honoured by the Gauls before they were subdued by the Romans. In the third, the Author explains the figures of a beautiful Gallic Column discovered at Cussi near Autun in France, and illustrates the Monuments of the Cathedral of Paris. The fourth Book treats of the Gallic Gods of the second class, *viz.* Saturn, Vulcan, Volianus, Bacchus, Telephorus, Circius, Cybele, Proserpine, Ardoina, the Oracle of the Isle of Sain, Nehalennia, Isis, Onuava; of the Goddesses called Mairæ, Matres, or Matronæ; of deified Towns, Winds, Rivers, Lakes, &c.

*Ec.* The fifth and last treats of the Tombs, Monuments, Urns, Epitaphs, and other things relating to the funerals of the Gauls.

As it is not to be expected I should enter into all these particulars, I shall only mention a few that seem to be more curious than the rest.

The Gauls and Britons were anciently of the same Religion; but Authors are not agreed which of the two received it from the other. Cæsar \* says the Britons were the Authors of it, in the opinion of the Gauls themselves; but Tacitus † thinks they derived it from the Gauls, who peopled Britain; which is indeed more probable. The Britons, however, retained it in its greatest purity, as appears by the Gauls sending their youth into Britain to be instructed in it.

The Gauls were generally thought to have derived their Religion, as most other Nations did, from that of the Egyptians; but our Author endeavours to prove from the wide difference between them||, and many other arguments, that they did not receive it from them, or any Nation whatsoever. He thinks they owed all their Theology to Gomer, who lived five or six hundred years before Moses, and whose posterity they are generally owned to have been. Speaking of the Antiquity of the Gauls, and of their Religion, he says the Characters they used were probably the same that Cadmus introduced into Greece. All Authors agree that they were Greek; and it appears

\* *De Bel. Gal. lib. 6.*

† *In Vit. Agr. c. 2.*

|| *Solis nosce Deos, & cæli numina vobis,  
Ant solis nescire datum. Lucan.*

evident.

evidently by a curious Inscription found at Rome on the tomb of one Gordian, Courier of the Gauls, who was put to death there with all his family, on account of their being Christians. It was published first in the *Roma Subterranea*, and afterwards by F. Mabillon. The characters are Greek, but the words are Latin, and show that the Antients pronounced *c* like our *k*; for *pake* is there writ for *pace*. The Author of *Roma Subterranea* is at a deal of pains to confer an honourable Post upon the Martyr Gordian; and because in the Inscription he is called *Nuncius Galliæ*, he will have it that he was an Ambassador, or an Envoy at least. I have nothing to say against his being a great Saint, but an Inscription found at Treves makes it plain that *Nuncius* signified no more than a Courier: for there another of the same profession is stiled,

*Nuncius Augusti, velox pede Curfor, ut aura.*

The Author goes on to observe, that the Greek Characters were in use among the Gauls till the sixth or seventh Century at least; that the Legends of the Gallic Coins and Medals are some in Greek Characters, others partly Greek, partly Roman, as are also several Inscriptions still remaining; and that in all of them are found Letters, which must be referred as far back as to the age of the Inscription at Sigæum; that both by their Inscriptions and Medals it appears they wrote *βασποφνδδν*, that is, alternately from the left to the right, and from the right to the left, which was the most antient manner of writing among the Greeks. Pausanias \* com-

\* *Lib. 5.*

pares this way of writing to the *ῥόμῳ δαύλῳ*,  
 a Race at the Olympic games, in which they  
 run from the starting-place to the goal, and  
 back again; as the Scholiast upon Aristophanes \* explains it. Our Author makes a new  
 remark upon the origin of the word *δαύλῳ* :  
 It is derived from *αὐλός*, a Flute, which was at first  
 made of several reeds, or oaten pipes of unequal  
 lengths, and fastened together sideways with wax.  
 As each pipe had but one hole, the only way to  
 make any Musick with them, was to blow them  
 one after another, by sliding the Lip forward and  
 backward upon them, from one end to the other :  
 and this motion backward and forward was properly  
 called *δαύλῳ*, whence it was applied to  
 the Race at the Olympic games. But to return  
 to the Gauls; though they used Greek  
 characters, they did not, it seems, know a word  
 of the Language: for, † Cæsar tells us he wrote  
 to Cicero in Greek, that if his Letter should  
 be intercepted, the Gauls might not understand  
 it. Now, says the Author, how came the Gauls,  
 as well as the Swifs and Germans, to use Greek  
 characters, without understanding the Language?  
 If they can be supposed to have learnt them  
 from the Phoceans of Marseilles, why did they  
 not learn the Language too? and how came  
 the Germans and Swifs by their characters?  
 He concludes that they brought them out of  
 Asia, and that they were the same which  
 Cadmus introduced into Greece. He goes farther,  
 and from the affinity of several Celtic words  
 with the ancient Greek, and the Gauls using  
 Greek characters, he pretends that the ancient  
 Celtic Language was the same with

\* *In Avibus.*† *Lib. 5.*

that

that which Cadmus brought out of Phenicia, differing from it only as one Dialect does from another. F. Pezron has published a large Collection of words equally Celtic and Greek; but his opinion, that the Greeks borrowed them from the Gauls, does not seem very probable.

The ancient Gauls had no Temples, nor Altars, no Statues, nor Images of God; but destroyed them, where-ever they met them, out of a principle of Religion; which made Tully \* say, that they waged war with the immortal Gods. From hence our Author would infer, that they believed God to be a pure Spirit: nay, he thinks that at first they acknowledged one only supreme Being, whom they called Esus, but durst not represent. He observes, that the most ancient Egyptians, the Persians, Scythians and others, had as great an aversion as the Gauls for Temples, Statues, and Images of any God; except that the Scythians erected to Mars a Temple of the Prunings of Vines, which they pulled down again every year, without having any other Statue of that God than a Sword. According to † Strabo, ‖ Clement of Alexandria, ‡ Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient Writers, they derived this Doctrine from the Law of Moses; but the Author thinks it much older; that the Gauls made but one People with all these Nations, among whom this Principle was commonly received, from the time of the ancient Patriarchs, and that they brought it with them out of Asia into Gaul.

\* *Pro M. Fontejo.*

† *Lib. 16.*

‖ *Strom. l. 1.*

‡ *Lib. 40.*

To

To show what a great affinity the Notions of the Gauls had with those of the Eastern people, he gives us a parallel of some Points of Religion, Discipline and Government, that were common to the Gauls, the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, and the Jews. This is but part of a Parallel that was drawn about fifteen hundred years ago, and urged against the Christians by \* Celsus; who, to the novelty of their Doctrines, opposed the antiquity of the Druids, their profound wisdom, and the resemblance of their maxims to those of the Jews. I shall mention only a few instances. The greatest Punishment the Jews or Druids could inflict, was Excommunication. The Jews came from all quarters once a year to the Temple, and before it was built, to the place where the Ark was lodged: So the Druids and Gauls assembled once a year at a forest of Oaks in the country of Chartres. The Druids ministered in white robes; so did the Jewish Priests in the Ephod. The Druids dwelt in groves of Oak, and paid an extraordinary veneration to that tree: Abraham dwelt under the Oak of Mamre, erected an Altar, called upon the name of the Lord, and entertained Angels there; Jacob buried Laban's Idols under an oak; Joshua made the Ark to rest under an oak, and erected there a Monument of the Covenant he had made between God and Israel; the Jews, in imitation of their idolatrous neighbours, frequently spread their Tents under oaks, and spent whole nights there in honour of their false Gods. The Gauls devoted to Mars all the Spoil they took in war, and punished those with death who embezzled any

\* *Orig. con. Cel. l. i.*



part of it. We find instances of the same nature among the Jews. The Gauls made a God of a brazen Bull, by whom they swore : The Israelites worshipped a golden Calf. The Gauls, in any public calamity, devoted a Man, whom they loaded with imprecations, that all the Ills which threatened them might fall upon him, and then sacrificed him : This resembles the Scape-goat. The Gauls owned the Immortality of the Soul : So did the ancient Patriarchs and Jews. The Gauls used the Rhine, for the same purposes as the Jews did the water of Jealousy. When a Gaul suspected his wife's fidelity, he obliged her to throw her children into the Rhine : If they sunk, the poor mother was instantly put to death, as guilty ; but if they did not, the husband was fully satisfied of her innocence. It seems, the Gauls were so impolite, that nothing less than a miracle could assure them of the chastity of their wives.

The Author proceeds to show how nearly the Gauls resembled the Persians in their Religion, Manners, way of life, and of making war, which among both were so much alike, that they were almost the same. From all which he concludes, that the Religion of the Jews, Egyptians, Scythians and Gauls, had originally one and the same Source.

He afterwards shows how the primitive Purity of the Celtic Religion came insensibly to be corrupted, by the introducing of foreign Gods, building of Temples, erecting of Statues, &c. In treating of their Superstition, for which they were noted, he has one remarkable passage. *We may judge of it, says he, by the extraordinary Respect they paid to their Priests,*

the Interest they thought they had with the Gods, their implicit Faith in all they said, their Submission to all their Orders, the Revenues allotted them, the extraordinary Privileges granted them, and the honourable Employments conferred upon them. Who could have thought that a Roman-Catholic Clergyman would have made all these things so many marks of heathen Superstition?

Among the three methods of divination, the Author explains the *Sortes Apostolicæ*, which were used by the Gauls, after Christianity prevailed among them, in this manner. They prepared themselves by fasting and prayer, during three days: a little before the end of the last, they laid upon the Altar a Bible, or some other book made use of in divine Service; when the time was expired, they opened the book, and the first passage they cast their eyes on, was looked upon as containing the Will and Decree of Heaven concerning the affair they had in view. This practice continued even till the fourteenth century, as the Author proves from a Manuscript of that age belonging to the Church of *Conserrans*, in which this is prohibited among other Superstitions. But it is remarkable, that the same MS. enjoins the wearing of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed hung about the neck, or fastened to the body; as if a christian amulet, or charm, were any better than a heathen one.

\* Tacitus mentions another sort of divination used by the Gauls. They cut a branch with fruit upon it into several pieces, on each of which they made different marks, and threw

\* De Mor. Germ.

them

them all together into a white garment. In public affairs, a Druid, but in private ones the Master of the family began the ceremony by a prayer, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven. Then he took out the pieces of the branch one after another, and formed his predictions by the marks he had made before.

They observed certain days in each month as unlucky, which were called Egyptian days. *Varandus* † gives these two verses for knowing them:

*Augurio, Decias, Audito Lamine, Clangor  
Liquit Olenus Abies, Coluit Colus, Excute Gallum.*

These twelve words agree each to one of the twelve months, beginning at *Augurio* and *January*. The first letter of the first syllable of each word, marks such a day in the month it belongs to, as answers to the letter's number in the alphabet. The same rule holds with respect to the first letter of the second syllable, except that you must count so many from the end of the month. Thus in *Augurio*, *A* marks the first of January, and *G* marks the twenty fifth, or the seventh from the last. *H* is never to be reckoned.

Among the Gauls were a sort of Conjurers, called *Salifators*, who predicted future events from the motion of their own limbs. They also drew prognostics from the neighing or motion of certain white horses, who were kept at the public charge for that purpose.

† *Ration. lib. 8. c. 4. n. 20.*

11 The Gauls used only Brass-Money, and consecrated all Gold and Silver to their Gods; throwing it into deified Lakes, and Rivers; which seems to be the true origin of the famous *Aurum Tolosanum*, the Gold which Cæsar took out of the Lake of Thoulouse, and which proved so fatal to him and his posterity, that it became a Proverb.

Though the Gauls are said to have had more exalted Notions of the Gods than any other Heathens, yet they thought no method so proper to appease them as that of human Sacrifices, whom they put to death in various manners. Some they burnt alive, by setting fire to a statue of Osier, in which the Victims were inclosed, or by tying them to a post, and making a great fire round them; or by inclosing a number of Men and Beasts in a great machine of Hay, and burning them all together. Some they crucified; some they shot to death with arrows; others they stabbed behind their backs, and drew a good or bad Omen from the figure of the wound, or the manner of their falling. The Sacrifice was always performed by the Druids; who were also the only Executioners of Justice. They imagined that Malefactors were the most agreeable Victims to their Gods: however, they did not scruple upon occasion to sacrifice innocent persons, when they had no criminals. Their fury went sometimes so far, as to imbrue their hands in the blood of their mothers, wives and children; foolishly fancying they should satisfy the anger of the Gods, by offering up whatever they esteemed most dear.

\* Justin relates a remarkable instance of this

\* *Lit. 26. c. 2.*

barbarous Enthusiasm, when they were about to engage with Antigonus, King of Macedonia. Those of † Marfeilles, when threatened with a plague, took some poor Man, who voluntarily offered himself, and entertained him in the most sumptuous and delicious manner for a whole year; at the end of which they dressed him up in sacred Ornaments, made him walk in procession through the whole Town, loading him with curses, and praying that all the calamities wherewith they were threatened or afflicted, might light upon him; and then precipitated him from the top of a rock. They sometimes prevailed, by a great reward, upon handsome young Men of Quality, to devote themselves for the good of the Publick. They used them with the same Ceremonies as the poor Man, except that they stoned him to death without the Town.

The Author observes, that the † Greeks, Romans, and Eastern people had also their expiatory human Sacrifices. They first soundly beat the Patient, then burnt him alive, and threw his ashes into the air, saying, Be thou an Atonement or Ransom for us. The Greeks called such unfortunate Martyrs *καδάρματα*. It is not to be so much wondred at, that a Gaul should voluntarily offer himself to be sacrificed for his Country, seeing they were so silly as to imagine that their Souls were by that means deified; as some Christians of \* Antioch fancied, that the Souls of all who died violent

† *Patron. sub fin. Sero. ad. Æneid. l. 3. v. 58.*

‡ *Lustatius Placidus. ad. Spart. Theb. l. 10. v. 788.*

‡ *Suidas. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 24.*

\* *Chrys. Hom. 2. de Lazaro. Athen. l. 4.*

deaths were changed into Gehill. Besides, they had such a contempt for Life, that they would at any time barter it for a trifle.

As to the origin of human Sacrifices, the Author observes, that Saturn is by all allowed to have first introduced this barbarous Custom. He produces from Eusebius the Authority of Sanchoniathon, Porphyry, and Nicolas of Damascus, to prove that Saturn was the same with Abraham, from whose intended Sacrifice of his Son Isaac, all the Nations of the World (he thinks) took the Example, believing, that since God commanded Abraham to offer up his Son, human Sacrifices must be the most agreeable to him.

[I must not here omit the singular opinion mentioned by Mr. Morin, in a Dissertation presented to the † Royal Academy at Paris; where in he pretends to show, that we have no sufficient Authority to believe that human Sacrifices were ever offered by any nation whatsoever. He says, 1. We ought not to think that any people could be guilty of a practice so contrary, so shocking to human nature, without the most evident proof. Now, says he, we have no Authors that assert it upon their own knowledge, but upon mere hearsays, and the reports of others, who were not themselves witnesses of the fact. 2. That Horus vindicates the Egyptians from this aspersion, who were so far from sacrificing men, that they never durst sacrifice animals till the time of the Ptolomies. 3. If Abraham be the pattern the heathens are supposed to have imitated, why did they go beyond

their original? In short he gives a great many instances both from real history and fable, in which the human victim was indeed brought to the altar, or made to pass through the fire, but an animal was sacrificed instead thereof. At least, if they did ever really offer human sacrifices, Mr. Morin thinks they were either criminals whom they thus executed, or prisoners of war whom they put to death by way of reprisal, or to appease the Manes of those that had been killed in war. But after all, we find this abominable practice still in use among some barbarous people, if we may believe modern travellers; and as to the Antients, is not \* Cæsar very particular concerning the Gauls? And if he does not say that he was himself an eye-witness of a human sacrifice, yet is it to be supposed that he was ill-informed, who spent no less than nine years in that country, and was intimately acquainted with several Gauls of the best quality? And do not † Plutarch, ‡ Livy, and || Pliny tell us, that the Romans themselves were sometimes guilty of it? We can depend upon nothing in history, if we must not credit such relations. However, Mr. Morin is certainly in the right, when he observes that a stranger seeing the ceremonies of an *Auto di Fé* might easily take it for a human sacrifice; and indeed he would not be much in the wrong, for so it is with a vengeance.]

The Bards were a sort of religious Order among the Gauls, who had so great a veneration for them, that when they were ready to give battel, and had even thrown their javelins, and drawn their swords, both sides forbore to fight,

\* *Lib. 6.*

† *Plut. in Marcel.*

‡ *T. L. 22. 57.*

|| *Plin. 28. 2.*

if the Bards arrived in the camp. Their business was to sing to instruments the praises of heroes and great men in their assemblies, but especially when they were advancing to charge an enemy ; and from thence they had their name, which Festus tells us signifies in Celtic a Singer. They also satyrized those whose Conduct deserved it. But 'tis probable they were very sparing of their censures ; for \* Athenæus tells us from Possidonius, they were no better than Parasites. Casaubon upon this passage observes, that the Celtic word answering to Parasite, and used by Possidonius, is *Soldurius*, which Nicolaus Damascenus renders ἐυχολιμαῖος, *devoted* or *desirable*. But *Soldurius*, says our Author, comes from the Celtic *Solde*, a soldier's pay, and *Soldur*, a man that receives such pay ; [and thence not improbably comes our soldier.] But whatever difference may be between the *Soldurii* and *Bardi*, the latter were undoubtedly Parasites, as appears by a merry story out of † Appian. A Bard being invited to an Entertainment by a Nobleman of Gaul, unfortunately came too late. Though that mortified him extremely, yet he continued for some time sounding the praises of his Patron ; but at last unable to resist his grief, he burst out into cries and lamentations, and changed his heroick strain into a doleful ditty, bewailing his misfortune.

Our Author treats next of the Druids, who are also called in history Σεμρόδοι and Σαράνιδες. To these three names our Author adds a fourth, viz. *Senani*, taken from an inscription on one of the monuments in the Choir of Notre Dame at Paris, but not to be met with in any Writer.

\* Lib. 6. 12.

† In Celtico.



He thinks it comes from *Σεωδοί*, and was given the Druids to express their being venerable for age and prudence. on which account \* Dion also calls them *Πρεσβύτεροι*. So that, adds he, the Senani among the Gauls were the same as the Elders of the people among the Jews. But he seems to understand the religions of the antients better than those of the moderns, when he adds, that the English have still Elders, whom they call Presbyterians, a Greek word signifying the same thing. He should have said, that the Presbyterians in England have still Church officers, whom they call Elders. But to return to the Druids.

Our Author observes, that as to Antiquity they are ranked by antient Writers with the Magi, Chaldeans, and Brachmans, the most famous and most antient Philosophers, and the Models of those of Greece. Not only no act of religion could be performed among the Gauls without them, but they were also the principal managers of all state-affairs. It was their privilege to create every year the chief Governor of each Canton, who could do nothing without their advice and consent. They were the Arbiters of peace and war, and the supreme Judges in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, publick and private. They deposed those Kings or Magistrates who did not please them, and excommunicated such as refused to submit to their sentences; in which case the excommunicated person was avoided and abhorred by every body; none would have any correspondence with him, or supply him with the necessaries of life: in short, he was looked upon and treated as a he-

\* *Lib.* 29.

retick: They had over them an Arch-Druid, whose place when vacant was filled by the majority of votes; but none except Druids were admitted into the conclave. It sometimes happened that the Competitors could not agree, and then the dispute was decided by force of arms, which the Druids never took up on any other occasion, but where the interests of the Church were immediately concerned. They paid the greatest veneration imaginable to the Oak; they never cut it down, nor put it to any common use, but let it rot as it stood. They made even very little difference between the tree itself, and the God they worshipped in it. This superstition our Author derives, as well as human sacrifices, from Abraham, and the famed Oak of Mamre, which was exceedingly honoured by all the heathens round about it for many ages. They lived in separate bodies by themselves in woods of Oak, where they instructed their disciples in the principles of their religion, all in verse, which they were obliged to get by heart, and allowed to commit no part of it to writing. They assembled once a year in a sacred forest in the country of Chartres, whither all the Gauls came to have their grievances redressed, or law-suits decided. Their principles are reducible to these three; to worship the \* Gods, never to do any evil, and to be brave on all occasions. Their favourite doctrine was the immortality of the soul, which they made use of as the greatest encouragement to valour. 'Twas upon the belief of this † tenet, that they lent one another money on promise of repaying it in the other

\* *Diog. Laert. lib. 1.*

† *Val. Max. l. 2. cap. 4. n. 10.*

world;

world; and that they wrote letters to the deceased, and hung them into the funeral  $\dagger$  pile, together with an exact account of his affairs, which they supposed he would read at his leisure. Strabo tells us, they believed that every thing would one day be destroyed by fire and water. They pretended to understand Geometry, Astronomy, Astrology, and Physic, which they practised with more superstition than art. They pretended, as Pliny \* tells us, that mistletoe of the Oak was a specific remedy against all poisons, and that it made those animals prolific, who drunk the water in which it was infused. Accordingly they gathered it with a deal of ceremony. On the sixth day of the moon they brought two white Bulls, which they fastened for the first time by the horns to the tree on which the mistletoe grew. Then a Priest dressed in his white robe climbed up the tree, and cut the mistletoe with a golden pruning-knife, and another below received it in a white *Sagum*. This was followed with sacrifices and prayers, that God would bless his present to those that should be honoured with it. Of this also the Druids used to wear chapelets, while they performed any religious rites.

Among other Superstitions, that of the *Ovum Anguinum* || is remarkable. The Druids pretended that it was formed in summer, by a great number of serpents together, out of their venom and foam. As the serpents hissed, the egg rose into the air, where it was necessary to receive it, (upon a certain day of the moon too)

$\dagger$  *Diod. Sic. l. 6. c. 9.*

\* *Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.*

|| *Plin. lib. 29. cap. 3.*

in a white *Sagum*, e're it touch'd the ground. The Druid that took it, was immediately to get a horseback, and make the best of his way; because the serpents being enraged at the loss, pursued him till they were stopped by some river. This egg was set in a circle of gold, with which it would swim, if it had been rightly taken. It had this virtue, that whoever was master of it never lost a cause, and had always free access to Princes. The Emperor Claudius put to death a Roman Knight of Dauphiné, only because he carried one of these eggs in his bosom, while he was engaged in a law-suit. This egg was undoubtedly an imposture of the Druids; and yet to my knowledge something like it is to this day believed by the common people in the North. Chorier, in his history of Dauphiné, tells us, that during the heats of summer, there are prodigious numbers of serpents assemble together in some places of that province, but particularly at a hill called La Rochette, in the skirts of Dauphiné towards Savoy. All sorts of serpents, says he, run thither from the middle of June till the middle of August, during which time there is not one to be seen within three leagues round the place, which they leave covered with a thick viscid slime.

The Author next enquires into the employments, quality, classes, reputation, and predictions of the Druidesses, and into the time when Druidism was abolished. Augustus forbid the Romans to practise the religion of the Druids. Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, and Seneca say that Claudius utterly abolished it: but Pliny \* attributes this to Tiberius, who also made a decree

\* *Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.*

against \* astrology. However, Druidism was even authorised, and in great reputation in the time of † Alexander Severus, ‖ Aurelian, and Dioclesian, who all three consulted the Druidesses. Procopius tells us, that about the middle of the sixth century, Theodebert I. having passed into Italy at the head of a great army, and surpris'd the Goths at the bridge of Padua, his Soldiers sacrific'd the women and children whom they had taken captives, and threw their bodies into the Po, as the first-fruits of the war. For, says he, *though the Franks are Christians, they still observe many of the superstitions of their ancestors, and particularly offer human sacrifices.* And this he relates upon his own knowledge, as having been an eye-witness of it.

I shall here conclude this Extract, taken chiefly from the first Book, and reserve what I have to say of the rest till another opportunity.



## ARTICLE II.

PETRI WESSELING *Observationum variarum Libri duo; in quibus multi ve-*

\* *Xpb. ex Dion. l. 57.*

† *Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. n. 6.*

‖ *Vopisc. in Aurel. & Numerian.*

terum

terum Auctorum Loci explicantur, atque emendantur. Amstelædami: apud R. & J. Wetstenios, & W. Smith.

That is,

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS upon several Passages of ancient Authors. 1727. pagg. 281 in 8vo.

**T**HIS Book is dedicated in a Latin Poem to the Prince of Friesland; and contains the explication of several difficult passages in ancient Authors, corrections of the Text where it is corrupted, with curious observations upon them relating to History, Chronology, the Laws and Customs of Antiquity, &c. I do not doubt but it will be received the more favourably, as the Author proposes his own opinions modestly, though not without good proof, and does not censure those who differ from him.

*Veniam petimusque, damusq; vicissim.*

Though these Remarks be divided into Books, and Chapters, yet are they set down without any method, and just as they occurred to him in his reading. I shall take notice of a few of them, as a Specimen of the rest.

*Isæus* in his Oration *de Cironis Hæreditate* has these words: Σωοικῆσαι μὲν ἂν τῇ γυναικὶ κλειῶν ἢ τῷ γυναικῶν ἢ ἂν ἄλλοι ἡρώδης παῖδες ἐν τέττε καὶ ἐκείναις, ὅποτε ἐπὶ αὐτῇς ἐκίωσαν. In which, says Mr.

Mr. Wesseling, there are several faults. For the point should not stand after *ἦν*, but after *ἔν*; and *ἄλλοι* should be in two words, *ἄλλ' ὁ* *ἰσῶται*, he says, is also put for *ἰσῶται*. *Ἐπιδεῖς ἰσῶσαι* signifies to be two years above the age at which young men were called Ephebi, and such the Athenian laws reckoned at age, and allowed them to take possession of their father's estate; but *βῆν ἐπιδεῖς* is only to be two years old, and children so young cannot be supposed capable of entering heirs. The passage thus corrected gives this sense: *Mulierem sumere quidem poterat, non vero pecuniam; sed liberi ex hoc atque illa procreati, post duos annos quam ex ephebis excesserint.*

In the same Oration is this passage: *κατὰ τὸ ἀγρὸν πελαῖα καὶ αἰὶνὰ δίδου.* Instead of *πελαῖα καὶ αἰὶνὰ*, which our Author says is not Greek, he reads *πελῖα ἢ καὶ αἰὶνὰ*, and shows the word to be used by Suidas and Aelian to signify rough and stony. So that the sense is: *Agrum retinet; prædia vero quedam salebrosa illi dedit.*

Euripid. in Iphigen. v. 130.

Πῶδε περὶ δῖον  
Ὅσον, ὅσον  
Κληδῶνα δέλα πέμπω.

*Pedem virginem  
Sanctum, sanctæ  
Clavigeræ serva mitto.*

The learned Mr. Barnes not finding this epithet given to Diana by the Antients, corrected it *λαμπροδῶνα*. But it seems that great Grecian was mistaken; for Mr. Wesseling not only proves from the Antiq. Rom. tom. v. p. 776. that Dia-  
na

na was often represented with a key in her hand, but also quotes the hymns ascribed to Orpheus, in which she is expressly called

*Ταυεπὸλον παντὸς κόσμου κλειδῶχον ἔτασαν.*

*Dianam totius mundi claves gerentem reginam.*

He goes on and shows, that as a key was a symbol of power, it was by the Antients put into the hands of all the Deities that presided over any particular place or thing. Thus Minerva is called κληδῶχ by Aristoph. in *Thesm.* v. 1152. because she presided over Athens. Æschylus in his *Eumen.* also gives Pallas the keys of Jove's magazine of thunder. Aristoph. in *Thesm.* v. 982. says Juno κληδῶς γάμου φύλαττι : because she presided over marriage and childbirth ; on the last of which accounts she is called Patuleia in an antient inscription. Cybele, or Earth, the mother of the Gods, was represented with a key, because it opens in the spring, and shuts in the winter. Plutarch calls the Parcæ κλειδῶχαι, because they have the power of human life. Pindar gives the goddess Quiet, the keys of counsels and of war. Orpheus gives Proserpine the keys of hell. Ovid and others give Janus a key, because he presided over gates. Festus gives Portumnus one too, as presiding over harbours. Proclus gives the Sun the keys of the fountain of life. And Mithras, who is the same as the Sun, was represented with a key in each hand, as may be seen in Montfaucon's *Diar. Ital.* c. xiv. Aristides gives Serapis the keys of earth and sea. Orpheus gives Pluto the keys of earth and hell. From this manner of representing and speaking of their deities so common among the Antients, may be derived that concerning the keys of death



death and hell in Rev. i. 18. and the keys of rain, corn, barrenness and the grave attributed to God by the Jewish Writers.

Lucian says of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, that his flatterers made him believe he resembled Alexander the Great; and adds, *καίτοι τὸ τῷ Μουσῶν ὄντα, διὰ πάντων περῆσμα ἦν. εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τὸ τε πύργῳ οἰκόμενα.* Instead of the first clause he reads, *Τὸ τῷ Μουσικῶν ὄντα. δις διὰ πᾶσιν το περῆσμα ἦν; Musicorum proverbio: longissimo intervallo inter se distabant:* which proverb he shows the same Author has used in other places.

Polybius says of the Byzantines, Liv. 45. *Διότις ἰδίᾳ (ωφέρον) καὶ συτχεῖ πολέμῳ. Propterea proprio ac difficili bello implicantur.* For ἰδίᾳ our Author reads *ἀίδιᾳ, immortalī*; and confirms it by Polybius's joining the very same two epithets to πολέμῳ in the same book.

Appian in his Punic says: *Πόλις δ' ἔγγυς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ λόφῳ ἀρυὴς ἐς στρατοπέδιον; Vicina erat urbs Cilla, et propter eam tumulus castris ineptus;* and yet that both Annibal and Scipio endeavoured to be masters of that rising ground, that they might encamp upon it. For which reason Mr. Wesseling reads *ἐρυὴς idoneus*, instead of ἀρυὴς.

In Sophocles's tragedy of Neoptolemus and Philocletes, Hercules bids them, v. 1435.

Ἐυσέβειν τὰ πρὸς θεῖς  
 Ὡς τ' ἄλλα πάντα δ' ὅτις ἡγήται πατὴρ  
 Ζεὺς ἢ γὰρ εὐσεβεία συνθήσκει βροτοῖς,  
 καὶν ζῶσι, καὶν θάνατον, ἐκ ἀπὸλυτο).

——— *Colere religionem*

*Quoniam alia omnia posteriora ducit pater  
 Jupiter; pietas enim simul moritur cum hominibus,  
 Et sive illi vivant, sive moriantur, nunquam perit.*

But the latter part of the sentence contradicts itself; and therefore instead of *ἡ γὰρ εὐσίβεια*, he reads *ἡ γὰρ εὐσίβεια*, and confirms his correction from Suidas in *Εὐσίβεια*, who has copied this passage.

Orpheus in Argon. v. 733.

καρμυδίακω δ' ἴκλ' ἄκρῳ  
 Ἡ ἐνὶ θερμόδῳ καὶ θ, Ἀλὲς τε ῥέεθρον  
 Βάλλον ἐπ' αἰμαλὸν δίνας ἀλιμυρίας ἔλκον.

Which is rendered, *Venit ad Carambis Promontorium, ubi Thermodon volvitur, Alyosque fluentum ad littora ejiciens fluctus in mare labentes in transitu.*

For βάλλον, which cannot stand here, our Author reads *πελὺν*, and explains the last line thus: *In longum littus fluctus cum strepitu egerens.* He confirms his conjecture from Appoll. Rhodius using that expression of *πλὺς αἰμαλὸς* to describe the same place in two different passages. Strabo indeed calls it only *αἰμαλὸς*, but says it was above an hundred Stadia long.

In the same Poem, v. 755. we read,

Ἴκτρ' δ' ὕπο ποῖνις ἀνέμῳ πλησίσι θ' Ἀργῶ,  
 Ὀφθριον ερχομένης ἧς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον,  
 Ἐωτὲρ ἐπ' Ἀξείνῃ, φᾶσιν καὶ χαλλισέεθρον!

Which is thus translated: *Progressa est secundo vento plenis velis Argo, a mane, surgente aurora super immensum mundum, usq; ad vesperum immittem, in Phasin pulchrum fluentum habentem.*

In the last line Mr. Wesseling reads, *Ἐχλ' ἐπ' Ἀξείνῃ*, *ad ultimum Ponti terminum*; and supports his conjecture by Appoll. Rhod. lib. 2. v. 1264.

Ἴκοντο  
 φᾶσιν τ' εὐρυρόντα καὶ ἔχματα πῆματα πόντον. In  
 which

which he thinks he imitated Orpheus. For the Euxine sea's being called 'Αξιόν, he quotes Ovid. Trist. iv. 4.

*Frigida me cohibent Euxini littora Ponti,  
Dictus ab antiquis Axenos ille fuit.*

And v. 84. of this same Poem :

'Αξιόν πόντος μυχός.

In Hor. lib. i. serm. v. we meet with this line :

*Qui locus à forti Diomede conditus olim.*

Which Dr. Bentley will not allow to be Horace's, because, says he, *condere locum* is neither good Latin, nor good sense. Our Author is of a different opinion, because he finds *condere Armeniam* in Justin, B. xlii. 2. *condere Insulam* in Sueton. in Aug. c. 98. and in Vellei. B. i. 2. And as Horace was a great admirer and imitator of the Greeks, he produces the authority of Herodotus and Lycophron for κτίζειν χώραν ; of Euripides for κτίσας Ἀσιάδ' ἑσθλὰς ; of Herodotus for κτίσας νῆσους, and Aelian for κτίσας χέρροντας ; Appian for κτίζειν ἔθνη ; and particularly Lycophron for κτίζειν τόπον. Which he thinks are all liable to the same objections with *condere locum*.

In Vellei. Paterc. B. ii. 81. we read, *Speciosum per id tempus adjectum supplementum campanae coloniae. Ejus relictī erant publici.* The last words have puzzled some of our Criticks, but the Author plainly shows from Frontinus de Limitib. agr. and Hyginus de limit. constit. that *relictī agri* were such as being not inclosed were common.

An old act of the Roman Senate has given occasion to a great dispute among the Criticks about the *Consules suffecti* (or extraordinary) of the year of Rome DCCCLXXXI. It is to be found in L. 20. D. *de Hæredit. petit.* and begins thus : *Pridie Idus Martias, Q. Julius Balbus, & P. Juventius Celsus Titius Aufidius Oenus Severianus Consules verba fecerunt.* It is certain that Q. Julius Balbus and P. Juventius Celsus were the ordinary Consuls of that year. The question is only, whether the other names are not those of the *Consules suffecti* ? Our Author clears up the mystery, by showing first, that in the decline of the Roman Empire, it became very customary for one man to have a great many names, and even of different families ; so that some had no less than a dozen of them. This arose from the custom of adding to their own the name of their mother's family, or of that into which they were adopted ; and lastly, from the foolish ambition of upstarts, who, to cover their mean original, assumed the names of the greatest families.

He shews next by an act of the Senate, L. 3. C. and by an old Inscription published by Cardinal Norris, that Neratius Marcellus was made Consul in the room of Julius Balbus ; and from an Inscription in Gruterus, p. 574. that he continued Colleague to Celsus till the end of the year. The last-mentioned Inscription runs thus :

A. D. VII. K. JAN.  
MARCELLO. ET. CN. LO. COS.

where he reads CELSO instead of CN. LO. which can signify nothing. From all this he argues,

gues, that there are no *Consules suffecti* mentioned in the aforesaid act ; but that the names P. Juventius Celsus Titius Aufidius Oenus Severianus, belong all to one and the same man.

Scaliger was of opinion, that Q. Esther was the same with Amastris, the wife of Xerxes : but our Author produces several instances of the latter's cruelty and lasciviousness, which make her character utterly inconsistent with Esther's. He mentions particularly her cutting off her sister-in-law's breasts, nose, ears, lips and tongue, which she threw to the dogs ; and that only because Xerxes had a value for her ; and he, poor man, was so hen-pecked, he durst not find fault with it. She also crucified Inarus, King of Egypt, contrary to the most solemn promises ; and having tortured the Physician Apollonides for two months, she at last buried him alive.

I shall conclude this Extract with the Author's Dissertation upon the words ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ, which are applied to Melchizedec, *Heb.* vii. 3. The Critics have disputed very warmly about the sense of those words ; some contend that Melchizedec is so called, because he really had no father or mother ; some explain them by their not being mentioned in Scripture or History ; and others say, that they signify his being born of a common woman. Our Author shows in what senses the words are used by the Greek writers. Oppian, in his *Cynegetics*, calls the fishes ἀμήτορα φύλα, as being generated out of mud. Lactantius quotes Trismegistus calling God ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ, or unoriginated. Cybele, Venus and Minerva, were called ἀμήτορες.

The number VII is also called ἀμύτω by Hierocles, as being neither compounded of, nor compounding any number under X. Vulcan is called ἀμύτω by Jul. Pollux. The reasons for calling them so are clear enough. Ἀπύτω and ἀμύτω also signify an orphan : the former signifies sometimes one neglected or disowned by his father ; and an inhuman barbarous mother was called ἀμύτω. The words were also applied to those who were born of mean and obscure parents, and to bastards. The Author does not determine how the words are to be understood as applied to Melchisedec ; but quotes Seneca in favour of those who think he was called ἀπύτω and ἀμύτω because we have no account of his parents in history, tho' the words are not to be found in that sense in the Greek Authors. That writer, in Epist. cviii. says, *duo Romani reges sunt, quorum alter patrem non habet, alter matrem : nam de Servij matre dubitatur ; Anci pater nullus est.* The reason why he expresses himself so, is because history gives no account of the mother of the one, or the father of the other.

These are but a few of the ingenious and useful observations, of which this small Volume is composed ; however, they are sufficient, I think, to show the Reader what he may expect from it ; and the brevity I propose, will not allow me to go any farther.

A R T I C L E



## ARTICLE III.

*A Critical HISTORY of the Athanasian CREED; representing the Opinions of Ancients and Moderns concerning it: with an account of the Manuscripts, Versions, and Comments, and such other Particulars as are of moment for the determining the Age, Author, and Value of it, and the Time of its Reception in the Christian Churches. By DANIEL WATERLAND, D. D. Chancellor of the Church of York, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. The second Edition, corrected and improved. Cambridge: printed at the University-Press, for Corn. Crownfield, Printer to the University; and are to be sold by J. Knapton, and R. Knaplock, Booksellers in London. 1728. pagg. 318. in 8vo.*

**T**HIS Work, besides a Preface and Introduction, consists of eleven Chapters; whereof I shall here give a Summary, sufficient to enable the Reader to form a competent Idea of the whole.

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1. The first Chapter recites the opinions of learned Moderns concerning the Athanasian Creed, beginning with Gerard Vossius A. D. 1642, and ending with Casimir Oudin A. D. 1722. At the end of this Chapter is subjoined a Table, representing the several writers in chronological order, and their opinions about the Author of this Creed, what century, or what year it was composed in, and when received into the Church. Among the Moderns who have given their sentiments on this Creed, the Author prefers these nine; Vossius, Usher, Quesnell, Tentzelius, Antelmus, Tillemont, Montfaucon, Muratorius, and Le Quien, as having more particularly studied the subject, and struck new light into it.

2. The second Chapter gives an account of the opinions of the Ancients with respect to the same Creed, beginning with the Council of Autun in 670, and ending with Johannes Pluſiadenus A. D. 1439. At the end of this Chapter also, as in the former, is added a Table representing at one view the several ancient writers in chronological order, in number thirty six, with the country where they lived, and the title or titles which they gave to the Creed.

3. The third Chapter gives an account of what ancient Comments, or Paraphrases have been made upon the same Creed; beginning with Venantius Fortunatus A. D. 570, and ending with Petrus de Osoma A. D. 1478. The whole number amounts to thirteen; and the Author subjoins a table of them at the end of this Chapter, representing in so many columns,  
the



the Year of our Lord, the Comments or Commentators, their Country, and the Title by them given to the Creed.

4. The fourth Chapter gives an account of the most considerable Latin Manuscripts of this Creed, from the year 600 down to 1400, amounting to twenty five in number ; whereof the Author subjoins a Table at the end of the Chapter, representing the date of the MSS, in what Library they are repositied, and in what Psalters (Roman or Gallican) they are found, with the titles which the Creed bears in the several MSS. In this Chapter, the Author occasionally inserts some proper instructions, relating to the different kinds of Latin Psalters, passing under the names of Italic, Roman, Gallican, and Hebraic.

5. The fifth chapter gives an account of the antient versions of the same Creed ; French, German, Anglo-Saxon, and Greek. As to the Greek in particular, the Author sets it no higher than the twelfth Century, having no sufficient evidenceto prove that the Creed was translated out of Latin into Greek before that time. He gives us a very particular account of all the Greek MSS. which, he says, are few and modern : and he further adds a very distinct recital of the printed editions, from 1540 to 1671.

6. The sixth chapter treats of the reception of the Creed in the several Churches : in Gaul, A. D. 550 ; in Spain, A. D. 630 ; in Germany, A. D. 787 ; in England, A. D. 800 ; in Italy, A. D. 880 ; in Rome, A. D. 930. As to the Greek and Oriental Churches, the Author advances

vances a conjecture, in this second edition, which he had not mentioned in his first, that the use of this Creed at Constantinople may very probably have been first introduced by the Latin Patriarchs, who presided there from 1205 till 1260.

7. After these preliminaries, the Author proceeds in the seventh chapter to determine, as near as may be, the time when, and the place where the Creed was composed. As to the time, he observes that at or about the year 570, it was grown considerable enough to be commented upon like the Lord's Prayer, and Apostles Creed, and therefore must be more ancient than that time. Thus much the Author collects from external evidences. Then he goes on to the internal characters of the Creed, proving from thence that it must not be set higher than A. D. 420, nor yet lower than A. D. 431; but somewhere betwixt those two. And whereas it has been thought by several learned men, that the Nestorian and Eutychian tenets are aimed at in this Creed, the Author very particularly labours to show that to be a vulgar error; and to prove that this Creed is nothing like those drawn up in the Eutychian, or even Nestorian times, being less particular and explicate, and suited only to the times preceding; and that it is directly levelled against the Arians and Apollinarians, and none later.

8. The eighth chapter descends more particularly to point out the Author of the Creed, and the very year when composed. And having observed in the foregoing chapters, that it was in all probability made in Gaul, for many reasons

sons there mentioned; the Author now fixes upon a Gallican Bishop, namely, Hilary of Arles for its Compiler. He gives several considerable reasons why, and likewise answers objections; and at length sums up his sentiments in these words:

*The sum then of what I have presumed to advance upon probable conjecture—is this: That Hilary, once Abbot of Lerins, and next Bishop of Arles, about the year 430, composed the exposition of faith, which now bears the name of the Athanasian Creed. It was drawn up for the use of the Gallican clergy, and especially for the diocese or province of Arles. It was esteemed, by as many as were acquainted with it, as a valuable summary of the christian faith. It seems to have been in the hands of Vincentius, Monk of Lerins, before 434, by what he has borrowed from it, and to have been cited in part by Avitus of Vienne about the year 500, and by Cæsarius of Arles before the year 543. About the year 570, it became famous enough to be commented upon like the Lord's Prayer and Apostles Creed, and together with them. All this while, and perhaps for several years lower, it had not yet acquired the name of the Athanasian Faith, but was simply stiled the Catholic Faith. But before 670, Athanasius's admired name came in to recommend and adorn it, being itself also an excellent system of the Athanasian principles of the Trinity, and Incarnation, in opposition chiefly to Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians. The name of the Faith of Athanasius, in a while occasioned the mistake of ascribing it to him as his composition.*

The Author concludes this chapter with some reflexions upon the deserved credit, and the general

neral reception this Creed has met with in the East and West.

9. The ninth chapter presents us with the Creed at length, in its original language, which is Latin ; together with the various lections at the bottom, collected out of the oldest and best manuscripts. In an opposite column is exhibited a collection of parallel passages, taken from such fathers as lived before 430, principally from St. Austin ; and at the bottom of this column are placed other parallel, or explanatory passages from later fathers, chiefly and particularly from Vincentius Lirinensis. The Author tells us his design in doing this, at the head of the chapter ; but begs his English reader's pardon for this Latin part, promising him some amends in the next chapter.

10. The tenth chapter is an English commentary of the Author's upon the whole Creed, paragraph by paragraph, with some few critical notes at the bottom.

11. The eleventh chapter is entirely taken up in vindicating the Church of England, both as to her receiving and retaining the Athanasian Creed. Dr. Clarke's objections, in number seven, are all very particularly considered, and answered. And whereas Dr. Clarke had suggested, (which makes the sixth objection) that the Commissioners in 1689 unanimously agreed, that *the use of the Athanasian Creed should no longer be imposed*, Dr. Waterland, beside what he had said to discredit any such report in his first edition, has now in this second printed the very Rubric, as it was finally settled and agreed upon by

by the Commissioners in 1689: by which it appears that they did resolve to *impose the Creed*, declaring, that *the Articles thereof ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures.* This Rubric coming late to the Author's hands, is printed in a postscript to the preface of this new edition. The original, he tells us, is in the Lord Bishop of London's possession.

The Author closes the chapter with these words: *To conclude; as long as there shall be any men left to oppose the Doctrines which this Creed contains, so long will it be expedient, and even necessary to continue the use of it, in order to preserve the rest: and, I suppose, when we have none remaining to find fault with the Doctrines, there will be none to object against the use of the Creed, or so much as to wish it were laid aside.*

The Author has added an Appendix, containing a correct edition of Fortunatus's Comment upon the Athanasian Creed, which had been formerly printed by Muratorius in 1698, but from a faulty copy, and with several mistakes. The faults are here amended, by the help chiefly of an older and more correct copy in the Bodleian library. The various readings are given at the bottom, with some critical remarks. He has also added two Indexes, one of Authors, and the other of MSS. referred to in his work.



## ARTICLE IV.

OPTICAL LECTURES *read in the Public Schools of the University of Cambridge, A. D. 1669, by the late Sir ISAAC NEWTON, then Lucasian Professor of the Mathematicks. Never before printed. Translated into English, out of the original Latin. London: printed for Francis Fayram, at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange. 1728. in 8vo. pagg. 212. and thirteen Copper-Plates.*

**T**HESE Lectures were intended to have been printed by their great Author just after they were read; but the disputes, occasioned by what was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* concerning his Theory of Light and Colours, made him lay aside that design, lest it should draw him into a controversy, which would have been very disagreeable to him. However the Manuscript, according to custom, was deposited amongst the Archives of the University; where many copies were taken, and handed about by the curious. These Lectures, as the editor informs us, were divided into two parts. What was handled in the last part related

ted chiefly to the doctrine of Colours, which has been since published in the Opticks by Sir Isaac Newton himself with great improvements. The first part was preparatory to the other ; and as it contained but little in common with what has been already printed, the Editor thought fit to translate it into the Language Sir Isaac has used in his Optics, and to make it publick. The Reader will find in it abundance of curious particulars, worthy the famous Author, and such as will appear entirely new.

It is divided into four Sections. The first contains a very full and plain account of the experiments, from whence was deduced the discovery of the different refrangibility in the rays of light. And here occurs an elegant demonstration, that in a certain position of a prism, the image of the sun made by it would appear circular, provided light was uniform. I cannot help observing in this place, that if these Lectures had been published soon after they were read, this one circumstance alone would have prevented some of the disputes that afterwards arose. Besides, the perspicuity with which things are delivered in this book, might perhaps have left no room for any cavils at all.

The subject of the second Section, is the measure of refractions in transparent substances, as well fluid as solid ; and the comparing the refractions of heterogeneous rays : and these performed not only in mediums as contiguous to the air, but when contiguous to one another ; all which is illustrated by a description of the instruments for making the experiments, and

and by examples, together with fuitable demonstrations.

In the third Section are considered the effects of the refractions of rays, as they are incident upon one or two plane surfaces. The first nineteen propositions relate to the refractions made by a single plane. Of these, the first eight treat of homogeneous rays ; containing some of the principles of dioptrics. In the scholium to the eighth proposition, there is a curious speculation concerning the apparent place of the image seen by refraction. The rest of these propositions are about the divarications and limits of heterogeneous rays ; as they are refracted at a surface separating two mediums, whose densities are considered either as permanent, or as the density of any one of the mediums is supposed to be varied. At the conclusion of the twelfth proposition occurs, what is very remarkable, that in rays of every sort, refracted at the same point of a plane surface, the *locus* of the centers of their radiations, is the vulgar *cissoïd*. Afterwards, to the end of this Section, is concerning the affections of both homogeneous and heterogeneous rays, refracted by two planes ; which chiefly relate to the experiments of the prism, from whence Sir Isaac Newton deduced his theory of light and colours. And here, amongst other things, is demonstrated, that rays so falling on a prism, that the refraction on each side may be equal, in homogeneous rays, the angle which the incident and emerging rays comprehend, will then become the greatest ; but in heterogeneous rays, the difference of those angles will become the least. The last proposition contains a solution of the following problem ;



lem; rays being refracted from one given point to another given point by a prism given in position, to find the angles comprehended by the heterogeneous rays.

The last section treats of Rays, as refracted by Curve Surfaces. Here is delivered a very elegant way of finding the principal Focus of any number of spherical Lens's; which is of great use in Telescopes and Microscopes. Next is shewn, how to do the same thing for Lens's formed into other figures than spherical ones, by means of the radius of the curvature at the Vertexe's of the curve figures; and in order to find that radius, because it is short, there is premised a Lemma. Afterwards follows the method of computing the errors arising from the spherical figures of Optic Glasses. Then is shewn, how to determine in spherical figures the focus, that belongs to every particular Ray; the same is likewise shewn for any other figure whatever, by the help of the radius of the curvature. But as the finding that radius, at any point of a curve, would here take up too much room, Sir Isaac Newton refers for its investigation to his *Treatise of Fluxions*, that he wrote several years before he read these lectures. The other particulars in this section are, the describing the figures, which shall so refract the incident rays, that all the refracted ones may meet accurately in any given focus; next are set down two propositions necessary for the determining the Rainbow; and lastly, there is delivered a computation of the errors arising from the different refrangibility of the rays of light. These, as they vastly exceed those occasioned by the figure of the glasses, put Sir Isaac Newton on the noble invention of the Reflecting Telescope.

JANUARY 1728.

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This account is sufficient, I believe, to give the reader a great idea of this work; though I have omitted, for brevity's sake, the mentioning many Lemmas, Corollaries, Scholiums and Observations, that are dispersed throughout this curious piece. I shall only here add a few remarks in general.

1. As the present Treatise is an introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's book of Opticks, so it contains the demonstrations of many things there made use of without their proofs. Perhaps they were omitted on a supposition, that these lectures might, some time or other, be made publick.

2. Here are also given the demonstrations of several of Sir Isaac Newton's inventions, that had been formerly published by Dr. Barrow, but without their proofs. Some of these inventions were peculiar to Sir Isaac Newton, others common to him and Dr. Barrow, whose *Lectiones Opticæ* are here much commended.

3. As in the fourth section the distinct foci belonging to every ray are determined; so the curve passing through them has been by some, who much delight in new-fangled words, called the Caustic Line. This, as done both by Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Barrow for spherical figures, was published in the *Lectiones Opticæ* of the latter, A. D. 1669. But by the present work it appears, Sir Isaac Newton had done at the same time this very thing for any curve surface by the help of the radius of the curvature, which was a very early invention of his. A long while after, viz. in 1682. Mr. Tschirnhaus

haus \* boasted, in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, of this invention of the Caustics. And though he then produced no instance of it but in a circle, which he learnt from Barrow's *Lectiones*, it would have been easy for him to have done the same thing for any curve, by the help of the radius of the curvature, which was published by Mr. Huygens in his *Horologium Oscillatorium*, A. D. 1673. In like manner Mr. Tschirnhaus published the same year † a method of tangents, which he saw in a letter of Sir Isaac Newton's wrote in ‡ 1672, where that method is set down, as also an account that Sir Isaac Newton had found out the radius of the curvature; or, as it is there expressed, the || curvities of curves. But Mr. Tschirnhaus's vanity, and likewise his thefts in geometry, with respect to Dr. Barrow, have been taken notice of by \*\* others; and he seems indeed to deserve the character Mr. Bernoulli has given him, that, like the Alchymists, he was always boasting of wonderful discoveries, without ever producing any thing of his †† own.

4 The Editor has put here and there at the bottom of the pages a few short notes, for the use of such as are not thoroughly acquainted with the subject. In some of them he cites the Treatises of Fluxions, which Sir Isaac Newton wrote in 1665, 1666, and 1671; and informs us, that tho' they were never printed, yet se-

\* See *Acta Eruditorum*, A. D. 1682. pag. 364.

† *Ibid.* p. 392.

‡ See *Commercium Epistolicum*, p. 105.

|| *Ibid.* or *Principia*, p. 146. Edit. 3.

\*\* Mr. Craig in *Tract. de Quadrat.* printed A. D. 1693.

†† See *Act. Erud.* A. D. 1718. p. 113.

veral copies of them are got abroad. This is a very agreeable piece of news to all lovers of mathematical learning ; seeing it is to be hoped, those valuable works will not now be lost, either through accident or design. Nay, we are in great expectation of seeing them shortly made publick ; for, it is probable, these are some of those Treatises, which we are promised by the Editor at the conclusion of his Preface. It is to be hoped he will print all the Treatises Sir Isaac wrote on that subject at different times ; for it will be a delightful thing to see the several steps whereby so great a Genius arrived at the perfection, to which he at last brought these noble inventions of his ; as it gives one great satisfaction to compare the different Editions of his *Principia*, and observe the improvements he made in that work from time to time.



## ARTICLE V.

*A PANEGYRIC upon Sir ISAAC NEWTON;  
Translated from the French, pronounced  
by Mr. FONTENELLE before the Royal  
Academy of Sciences at Paris. With Re-  
marks.*

**S**IR ISAAC NEWTON was born at Wol-  
strop, in the county of Lincoln, on Christ-  
mas-day, O. S. 1642. He was descended from  
the

the eldest branch of the family of Sir John Newton, Baronet, Lord of the Mannor of Wolstrop. This estate has been for almost two hundred years in that family, which came to settle there from Westby in the same county, but originally from the town of Newton in Lancashire. Sir Isaac's mother, \* Anne Ascough, was also of an ancient family. She married again after the death of his father, who was her first husband.

She sent her son at twelve years old to the free-school at Grantham; but brought him home again after a few years, that he might accustom himself betimes to look into his own affairs, and learn to manage them himself. However, she found he minded them so little, and his books so much, that she sent him back to Grantham, and left him there at full liberty to pursue his inclinations for learning. These he gratified still more, by removing from thence to Trinity-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted in 1660, at the age of eighteen.

When he applied himself to Mathematics, he did not bestow much study upon Euclid, whom he thought too plain and easy to deserve his time: he was master of the Elements almost before he read them; and if he had but a glance at the subject of a Proposition, he needed no further demonstration. He launched at once into such books as Des Cartes' Geometry, and Kepler's Optics; so that we may justly apply to him what Lucan said of the Nile, whose source was unknown to the ancients;

\* Her name was Hannah.

*Nature conceals thy infant stream with care,  
Nor lets thee but in majesty appear.*

It can be proved that Sir Isaac had made his great discoveries in Geometry, and laid the foundation of those two celebrated performances, his *Principia* and his *Optics*, by that time he was four and twenty years old. If intelligences superior to man do, like us, advance in knowledge by degrees, yet they fly while we only creep; they spring at once over those intermediate steps by which we mount slowly and with labour, from one truth to the next which is immediately connected with it.

In 1668, Nicholas Mercator, a native of Holstein, who passed the best part of his life in England, published his *Logarithmotechnia*, in which he resolved the area of the hyperbola into an infinite series. \* This was the first time the learned world ever saw a series of this kind, drawn from the peculiar nature of a curve, by an art entirely new and ingenious. The illustrious Dr. Barrow, residing at that time at Cambridge, together with Sir Isaac Newton, who was then in his twenty sixth year, immediately recollected he had seen the same Theory among the young Gentleman's papers, not confined to the Hyperbola only, but extended by general rules to all sorts of Curves, even those

\* My Lord Brouncker was the first that discovered this Series for the Hyperbola, and published it in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 34. for April 1668. Mr. Mercator soon after demonstrated it by Dr. Wallis's Division, which made it to be much taken notice of, and him esteemed its first Inventor.

of

of the mechanical kind, to their quadratures, rectifications, and centers of gravity, to the solids formed by their revolutions, and the surfaces of such solids ; so that if the determinations were possible, the series would terminate at a certain point ; or if they did not terminate, the sums of them might be found by a rule ; but if the precise determinations could not be obtained, yet they might still be approximated, and brought nearer and nearer to the truth, *in infinitum*. The happiest and most artful scheme, that the wit of man could ever have invented, for supplying the imperfection of human knowledge.

The possession of so fruitful and so general a Theory was a glorious treasure for a Mathematician ; but it was more glorious still to be the author of so surprising, so ingenious an invention ; and when Sir Isaac saw by Mercator's book that he had found out the way to his treasure, and that others might probably follow his steps ; it was natural for him to have laid it open, in order to secure his own property, as the first discoverer. But he was contented with the enjoyment of his riches, without being at all solicitous about the glory attending it. He says himself in one of his letters in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, that *he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret, or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing*. He suffered himself without any regret to be robbed of an invention, from which he might have promised himself the greatest honour ; and though he had already made discoveries that far exceeded his years, yet he delayed publishing them till he was of an age, from which the world might more reasonably expect them. His Manuscript upon infinite Series

ries was communicated only to Mr. Collins and the Lord Brouncker, both well skilled in such matters ; and not even to them, but by Dr. Barrow, who would not suffer him to indulge his modesty so much as he inclined.

This MS, which was forced out of the author's hands in 1669, bears this title : *A Method which I formerly found out, &c.* Now though the word *formerly* should comprehend no more than three years, this beautiful Theory must have been discovered before he was four and twenty. But what is still more remarkable, is, that this same Manuscript contains both the invention and calculation of Fluxions, † or infinitely small quantities, which have occasioned so warm a dispute between Mr. Leibnitz and him, or rather between Germany and England. We gave the history of it in 1716, in our Panegyric upon Mr. Leibnitz ; and though our business was then to praise Mr. Leibnitz, yet we so exactly observed the impartiality of an historian, that we have no more now to add in favour of Sir Isaac Newton. We expressly declared that *Sir Isaac was undoubtedly the first inventor ; that the honour of it was indisputably due to him ; and that the only point in question was, whether Mr. Leibnitz borrowed his notion from him.* All England is convinced he did ; although the Royal Society have only insinuated so much, without deciding the matter, in their judgment upon ‡ it. Sir Isaac Newton is incontestably the

† As foreigners speak ; for Sir Isaac Newton rejected infinitely small quantities, whereof we have no idea, out of his notion of Fluxions. See the Introduction to his Quadratures.

‡ The Royal Society has not passed any judgment in that matter. The *Commercium Epistolicum* is only a collection of extracts out of letters and other writings, &c. relating to it, with the report of a committee annexed.

first



first inventor, and the first by several years. Mr. Leibnitz, on the other hand, is the first that published this method of calculation; and if he did borrow it from Sir Isaac, we may at least compare him to Prometheus in the fable, who stole fire from the Gods, that he might communicate it to men.

In 1687, Sir Isaac having at last resolved to throw off the veil, and show the world what he was, published his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. This book, in which he has built a new system of Physics upon the most sublime Geometry, did not at first meet with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive. As it is written with a great deal of profoundness, and in a very concise stile, and as the consequences flow with such rapidity from the Principles, that the Reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them, it required some time before the world could understand it. The ablest Mathematicians were obliged to study it with care, before they could be masters of it; and those of a lower rank durst not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned. But at last, when its worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation, which had been so slowly gained, became so universal, that nothing was to be heard from all quarters, but one general shout of admiration. All the world stood amazed at that original spirit, which animates the whole work; that creating spirit, which through the whole extent of the learned world, and the happiest age, never falls to the share of more than three or four persons.

The Mathematical Principles are founded chiefly on two theories; the doctrine of central forces,

ces, and that of the resistance of mediums to bodies moving in them; both almost entirely new, and treated according to the Author's sublime Geometry. It is impossible to say any thing upon either of these two points without having Sir Isaac before our eyes, without repeating his words, or treading in his steps; and no art can hinder him from shining through every disguise under which we may endeavour to conceal him.

\* The proportion observed by Kepler between the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and their distances from the common centre of those revolutions, holds good in the whole planetary

\* This paragraph is not without mistakes, and besides is expressed so very ambiguously, that one cannot here know, what was observed by Kepler, or what was demonstrated by Sir Isaac Newton. Perhaps Mr. Fontenelle was puzzled by what the Chevalier Louville writes in the 36th page of the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1720. where that gentleman rashly and erroneously attributes to Kepler, what only belonged to Sir Isaac Newton. The real truth is this: Kepler found from the celestial observations of Tycho Brahe, 1st, That the same planets described about the sun equal areas in equal times; 2dly, That their orbits were ellipses, the sun being in the common focus; and 3dly, That in different planets the squares of the periodic times were, as the cubes of the transverse axes of their orbits. From the first phenomenon Sir Isaac Newton demonstrated, that the planets were attracted towards the sun in the center; from the second, that the force of this attraction was reciprocally as the squares of the distances of the planet from this center; and from the last, that all the planets were influenced by the very same centripetal force. Again, what Mr. Fontenelle here asserts, amounts to no more than this, That Sir Isaac Newton assumed, as an hypothesis, that the planets were attracted by the sun, and reconciled that hypothesis to Kepler's third Phenomenon only; whereas he most irrefragably demonstrates, from the first Phenomenon, that this attraction belongs to the planets.

system.

system. If we suppose, as we necessarily must, that a certain force restrains those great bodies every instant from moving on according to their natural direction in a right line from West to East, and continually draws them towards a particular center; it follows from Kepler's rule, that this central or centripetal force will have a different action upon the same body, according to its different distances from this center, and that in a reciprocal proportion of the squares of those distances: as for example; If a body be twice as far distant from the center of its revolution as before, the action of the central force upon it will be four times less. From hence it would seem Sir Isaac Newton took the first hint of his system of the world in general. We may also suppose or imagine, that he first considered the moon as having the earth for the center of its motion.

<sup>b</sup> Were the moon to lose all the impulse and tendency it has to move from West to East, and the central force only, by which it is drawn towards the earth, were left, it would wholly obey this force, and following the direction of it alone, would move in a right line towards the center of the earth. It's motion of revolution being known, Sir Isaac Newton demonstrates from this motion, that in the first minute of its descent it would describe fifteen Parisian feet. Its distance from the earth is sixty semi-

<sup>c</sup> There is a mistake in these two paragraphs. For were the moon to fall from its place, as here supposed, in the last minute of its descent, it would describe above two million of feet. And it would describe 3600 times 15 feet in the first minute of its descent, provided it were let fall, near the surface of the earth, from a state of rest.

diameters

diameters of the earth; by that time therefore the moon arrived at the surface of the earth, the action of the force which brought it thither would be increased in proportion to the square of 60; that is, it would be 3600 times greater, and the moon in the last minute would describe 3600 times 15 foot.

<sup>b</sup> Now if we suppose that the force thus acting upon the moon is the same with what we call Gravity in bodies upon earth, it will follow from Galileo's system, that the moon, which in the last minute before it touched the surface of the earth fell 3600 times 15 foot, must also have fallen 15 foot in the first 60th part, or in the first second of that minute. But we find by experiments, which indeed can only be made at small distances from the surface of the earth, that heavy bodies describe 15 foot in the first second of their fall. They are therefore, with respect to the times of their descent, precisely in the same case, as if having revolved about the earth in the same manner, and at the same distance as the moon does, they were let fall by the mere force of their gravity; and since they are in the same case with the moon, the moon is in the same case with them, and both are drawn towards the earth every moment by nothing else than the mere force of gravity. For so exact a conformity, or rather so perfect an identity of effects, can proceed only from an identity of causes.

'Tis true, that according to Galileo's system, which we have here followed, gravity is at all distances the same, and that the centripetal force of the moon is not so, even in the demonstration we have just now given. But gravity may appear to be equal at all distances, or rather it really

really does appear so in all our experiments; only because the greatest height, from whence we can observe bodies falling, bears no proportion at all to 1500 leagues, the distance they are all at from the center of the earth. It is demonstrable, that a cannon-ball discharged horizontally, describes, upon the hypothesis that gravity is every where uniform, a parabola terminated in a certain point by meeting with the earth; but that if it were shot from an eminence high enough to make the inequality of the action of gravity sensible, it would be found to describe an ellipsis instead of a parabola, which would have the center of the earth for one of its foci; that is, it would exactly imitate the motion of the moon.

If the moon be heavy in the same manner as bodies upon earth are; if it be drawn towards the earth by the same force which acts upon them; if, according to Sir Isaac Newton's expression, it gravitate toward the earth, then the same cause operates upon all the wonderful system of heaven; for all nature is one and the same; the like uniform disposition runs through the whole, and all the celestial bodies describe ellipses round another body placed in one of the foci. The Satellites of Jupiter gravitate towards Jupiter, as the Moon does toward the Earth, the Satellites of Saturn toward Saturn, and all the planets together toward the sun.

We do not know in what the nature of gravitation consists, and even Sir Isaac Newton himself was ignorant of this. If <sup>c</sup> gravitation  
acts

\* Though Gravitation were caused by impulse, we might as well conceive both the bodies to be mutually impel-

acts by impulse, we may conceive a block of marble let fall to be impelled toward the earth, without the earth's being at all impelled toward it: and in a word, all the centers, to which the motions arising from gravitation are directed, may be immoveable. But if it acts by attraction, the earth cannot attract a piece of marble without being reciprocally attracted by it; for why should any particular bodies be endued with this attractive virtue more than others? Sir Isaac Newton always supposes the action of gravitation to be reciprocal in all bodies, and proportional only to their quantities of matter, and thereby seems to determine that gravitation really consists in attraction. This is the only term he uses upon all occasions to express the active force of bodies; a force indeed which is unknown, and which he does not pretend to define: but if it may also act by impulse, why was not this <sup>d</sup> term preferred as much clearer than the other? For it must be allowed they convey too opposite ideas to be used indifferently. The constant use of the word attraction, supported by so great an authority, and perhaps too by the inclination which Sir Isaac seems to

impelled towards each other by the common action, upon both the bodies, of whatever causes this Gravitation. Sir Isaac Newton does not in any part of this subject proceed by mere conceptions, but examines continually what the phenomena necessarily imply.

<sup>d</sup> Because he was not certain, that gravitation was caused by impulse; the word attraction will answer to whatever shall be found hereafter to be it's cause. The reasoning here used is very strong against the use of the word impulse; but not against the use of the word attraction, which last word does not convey to the mind any idea distinct from the effect, but the word impulse does.

have

have had for the notion itself, at least renders an idea familiar to his readers, which is proscribed by the Cartesians, and it's condemnation ratified by all the other philosophers. We must therefore be upon our guard, lest we should imagine it to be something real, as we are in danger of fancying we understand it.

However this be, all bodies, according to Sir Isaac Newton, gravitate toward each other, or attract one another in proportion to their quantities of matter ; while they revolve about a common center, by which they are consequently attracted, and which they also attract, their attractive forces vary in a reciprocal proportion \* of their distances from it ; and if all together with their common center revolve about another center, which is common to others with them, hence arise new relations, which form a strange complication. Thus each of Saturn's five satellites gravitates towards the other four, and these again toward the fifth ; all the five toward Saturn, and Saturn toward them ; all together toward the Sun, and the Sun toward them all. What a profound skill in Mathematics was necessary to reduce this chaos into order, and unravel the intricacies of so many different relations ? The very undertaking seems to have been rashness : but what an astonishment is it to see, that from so abstruse a theory, formed out of so many particular theories, all of them very perplexed and intricate, such conclusions necessarily arise, as are always exactly agree-

\* Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated, that the thing, which he signifies by that word, is a reality, though we are not acquainted with its cause.

\* Of the Squares of their distances.

able

able to the facts that are confirmed by astronomical observations ?

Nay, sometimes those conclusions seem to predict facts, which Astronomers would not otherwise have so much as imagined. It has been alleged for some time past, but especially in England, that when Jupiter and Saturn are nearest one another, though even then they are 165 millions of leagues asunder, their motions are not so regular as at all other times ; and Sir Isaac Newton's system at once assigns the reason of it, which no other can do. Jupiter and Saturn do then attract one another with the greatest force, because they are nearest each other, and by this means the regularity of their motion is disturbed. And even the quantity and bounds of this irregularity are capable of being determined.

The moon is the most irregular of all the planets ; she often deceives the nicest calculator, and leaves him at a loss to account for her wanderings. Dr. Halley, who is equally a profound Mathematician, and an excellent Poet, says in a copy of Latin verses prefixed to the † third edition of Sir Isaac Newton's Principles, *that the moon had not till then obeyed the reins of calculation, nor been subdued by any Astronomer, but had at last submitted to this new system.* In it, all the irregular sallies of her rambling course are so necessary, that they may be foretold ; and it is hardly possible that a system, which so readily accounts for them, should be no more than a lucky hypothesis ; especially if we consider this as but a small part of a whole,

† Dr. Halley's Verses were prefixed to all the editions of the *Principia*.

which



which explains an infinite number of other appearances with the same happy success. The ebbing and flowing of the tide arise so naturally from the joint action of the sun and moon upon the sea, that this once wonderful phenomenon seems to be degraded by it, and no longer surprises us.

The second of the two great Theories, upon which the *Principia* turns, is the resistance of mediums to the motion of bodies, which has a great influence upon some of the principal appearances of nature, such as the motions of the heavenly bodies, light and sounds. Sir Isaac Newton has, as usual, deduced from the profoundest Geometry the effects of this resistance, whether arising from the density of the medium, the velocity of the body moved, or the largeness of its surface; and comes at last to conclusions that utterly destroy Des Cartes's Vortices, and quite overturn that mighty celestial pile, which one would have thought immoveable. If the Planets revolve about the sun in any medium whatever, let this ethereal matter be ever so subtil, yet seeing it is supposed to fill up all space, it is demonstrable that its resistance will be never the less; and if so, how<sup>f</sup> comes it to pass that the motions of the planets are not perpetually, nay, immediately retarded by it? And how can the comets especially pass in every respect freely through these vortices, in directions often contrary to theirs, without suffering any

<sup>f</sup> The argument here used is defective; for if such a fluid were once put in motion, it might, for all that is here said, carry about the planets along with itself; but Sir Isaac Newton shews, that the heavenly motions cannot arise from, or be continued by the motion of such a fluid.

sensible alteration in their motions, though ever so long continued? And why do not these prodigious torrents, whirling round with an almost incredible rapidity, absorb in a few moments all the proper motion of a body, which is but an atom in respect of them, and forcibly carry it along with them?

The heavenly bodies therefore move in a vast vacuum, except that the exhalations rising from them, and interweaving with the rays of light in a thousand different combinations, scatter some small particles of matter through the almost infinite immaterial space. Thus attraction and a vacuum, which Des Cartes had banished out of the physical world, and which seemed condemned to a perpetual exile, are brought back in triumph by Sir Isaac Newton, armed with a new force of which they were thought incapable, and perhaps only a little disguised.

\* These two great men, though so opposite in this respect, did nevertheless very much resemble one another in many others. They were both of them genius's of the first rank, born to command, and to lay the foundations of empires. As they were both excellent Geometers, they both saw the necessity of introducing Geometry into natural philosophy; and both founded their systems upon geometrical principles, for which they were little, if it at all, obliged to

\* A most strange comparison of persons very different. Cartes never used Geometry in his system of the world; but rashly pretended to solve all appearances by most extravagant conjectures. Nor was he a great Geometer. He indeed made some considerable improvements in the application of Algebra; but as to Geometry, he was unacquainted with its true nature. Mr. Fermat, who was really a great Geometer, has shewn some of his mistakes.

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Art. 5. *the Republick of Letters.* 67

the discoveries of others. But the one, taking a bold flight, endeavoured at once to reach the fountain head; to make himself master of the first principles by certain distinct and fundamental ideas, that he might thence descend with ease to the appearances of nature, as to necessary consequences: whilst the other, more timorous, or more modest, begun his career by laying hold of the known phænomena, that he might from thence climb up to their unknown principles, resolved to embrace whatever a chain of consequences should lead him to. The <sup>h</sup> one sets out from what he clearly understands, to find the cause of what he sees; the other from what he sees, to find the cause of it, whether clear or obscure. The evident principles of the one do not always conduct him to the phænomena such as they really are: the phænomena do not always conduct the other to such principles as are sufficiently <sup>i</sup> evident. The limits which stopped the progress of two such men, in such contrary roads, are not the limits of their understanding, but of human understanding itself.

At the same time that Sir Isaac Newton was engaged in his great work of the *Principia*, he had another also in hand, altogether as much an original; not so general indeed in its title, but as extensive in the manner he designed to handle a particular subject. I mean his *Opticks*, or *Treatise of Light and Colours*;

<sup>h</sup> However clearly he might conceive in his mind his own fancies, yet as they were only chimeras of his own brain, he cannot be said to have at all understood any thing of use for discovering the operations of nature.

<sup>i</sup> Sir Isaac Newton's Principles are by him rendered sufficiently evident, by his having demonstrated their reality.

which appeared first in 1704, after he had spent 30 years in making the necessary experiments.

The art of making experiments to a certain degree of accuracy is far from being a common one. The most trifling fact that falls under our notice is complicated with so many others, which compose or modify it, that it requires the utmost sagacity even to guess at all the particular ingredients of such a composition, and the nicest dexterity to distinguish them from each other. The fact to be examined must be resolved into others, which are themselves compounded; and sometimes, if we happen to mistake our way, we are led into endless and inextricable labyrinths. The original and elementary facts seem to have been concealed from us by nature with as much care as their <sup>k</sup> causes; and when we do happen to discover them, the sight is entirely new and unexpected.

The constant object of Sir Isaac Newton's Optics is the anatomy of light. The expression is not too bold, seeing it is literally true. The smallest ray of light admitted into a perfectly dark room, which yet can never be so small but that it is like a *Fasciculus* composed of an infinite number of rays, is divided and dissected, so as to leave the elementary rays, that composed it, distinct from each other, each tinged with a particular colour, and incapable of being further altered after this separation. The whiteness of the whole beam, before it's dissection, arose from the mixture of all the particular colours of the original rays. This separation of the rays

<sup>k</sup> The facts here hinted at are indeed causes, and perhaps the only causes we shall ever be able to discover.

is so difficult, that when Mr. <sup>1</sup> Mariotte undertook it upon the first report of Sir Isaac's experiments, he miscarried in the attempt, though he had so extraordinary a genius for things of that nature, and had succeeded so well upon so many other occasions.

The primitive and coloured rays could not possibly be separated, if their nature were not such, that in passing through the same medium, through the same glass prism, they are refracted under different angles, and by that means appear disunited, when received at convenient distances. This different refrangibility of red, yellow, green, blue, violet, and the infinite variety of intermediate-coloured rays, a property which had never been dreamt of, and to which no conjecture could ever have led us, is the fundamental discovery of Sir Isaac's Treatise. The different refrangibility leads us to the different reflexivity; and, which is still more curious, rays falling upon a surface under the same angle of incidence are alternately refracted and reflected; with a kind of play, which could never have been distinguished but by a very good eye, assisted by an excellent judgment. Lastly, (and in this point only the first notion was not Sir Isaac Newton's) those rays which pass near the extremity of a body without touching it, are nevertheless thereby turned aside out of the right line, and this he calls *Inflexion*. <sup>m</sup> From all

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mariotte did not fail in his skill of making the experiment, but in his reasoning upon it.

<sup>m</sup> Here the greatest of all Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries in Opticks is omitted, which is the cause why bodies appear of different colours. This Sir Isaac, after a most surprizing manner, shews to arise from the magnitude of the constituent particles of bodies.

these observations together he has formed a body of Optics so new, that this science may henceforward be always looked upon as entirely owing to this great Author.

And not to confine himself wholly to speculations, which are sometimes unjustly censured as mere amusements, he gave us in that work \* the invention and design of a Reflecting Telescope, though it was not well executed till a long time after. It has been observed here, that a Telescope of this kind, though not <sup>n</sup> above two foot and a half long, has as great an effect as a good common Telescope of eight or nine foot; this is a very considerable advantage, and our posterity may probably improve it to a much greater degree of perfection.

One benefit arising from this performance, and perhaps of as great value as the many new discoveries with which it abounds is, that it furnishes us with an excellent model of the art of managing philosophical experiments. When we would examine nature by experiments and observations, we must examine her as Sir Isaac does, with the greatest accuracy and importunity. Things which are so nice that they fly the most curious search, he happily reduces to calculation, and such an one as requires not only the profoundest skill in Mathematics, but rather

\* He published this invention long before in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 81. for 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ . after he had made two Reflecting Telescopes himself, which succeeded very well.

<sup>n</sup> Telescopes of this sort made in England of 5 foot, magnify as much as the common ones of 100 foot; and it is reported, that the very Telescope here mentioned, magnifies as much as one of 40 feet at least. So, I suppose, Mr. Fontenelle's memory failed him in this place. For the report of Mr. De l'Isle upon his return from England to Paris could not but inform him better.

a pe-

a peculiar dexterity in the use of it. The application he makes of his Geometry is as artful, as his Geometry itself is sublime.

He did not finish his Optics, because he was interrupted in the course of these experiments, and had no opportunity to resume them. And though he has left some materials for completing this noble building, yet the undertaking will require no less skilful hands than those of the first Architect. However, he has given the best directions possible for such as may be inclined to carry on his work, and has even pointed out a way for passing from Optics to an entire system of Physics. Under the form of doubts or queries he proposes a great many hints, which may be of service to future Philosophers; or stand at least as the history of a great man's first thoughts, which are always entertaining and curious.

Attraction is the ruling principle in this short scheme of Physics. That force in bodies which we call hardness, is no other than the mutual attraction of their particles, by which they adhere closely together; and if they are of such a figure as to touch one another in every point of their surfaces, without leaving any interstices between, those bodies are perfectly hard. There are none of this sort but the primary, unalterable particles only, of which all other bodies are composed. Chymical fermentations or effervescencies, the agitations of which are so violent, that they may be sometimes compared to tempests, are the effects of this powerful attraction, which in small bodies acts only at small distances.

In general, he is of opinion that attraction is the active principle of all nature, and the cause of all natural motion. For, if a certain

quantity of motion, originally impressed upon matter by God Almighty, were afterwards only distributed differently according to the laws of percussion, it is plain that this motion would be continually lessened by the contrary impressions of bodies striking against each other, without any possibility of its being ever recruited ; and thus the universe would soon fall into a state of rest, which would prove the general death of the whole. Whereas the power of attraction always subsisting, and never impaired by being exerted, is a perpetual spring of action and life. However, it is not impossible but that the effects of this attractive virtue may some time or other form such combinations, that the system of the world may be thereby thrown into confusion, and, as Sir Isaac says, *require a skilful hand to put it in order again.*

¶ He expressly declares, that he does not pretend to understand this same cause which he calls attraction ; but only to consider, compare and calculate its effects, and to avoid the imputation of introducing again the occult qualities of the schoolmen ; he says that he lays down none, but such as are manifest and evident to sense from the phænomena, though he owns the causes of those principles are occult, and leaves them to the enquiries of other philoso-

¶ Sir Isaac Newton does not express his apprehension, that things will be dissolved by any irregularities arising from this attraction of the small parts of matter ; but from the whole system being disturbed by the planets gravitating upon one another.

¶ The Author here misrepresents Sir Isaac Newton, who did not own that he was unacquainted with attraction as a cause, but that he did not know the cause of that

phers.



phers. But were not the <sup>9</sup> occult qualities of the schoolmen causes ? and did not they likewise plainly see the effects of them ? Besides, did Sir Isaac Newton imagine that others would discover those causes, which he himself could not ? With what <sup>r</sup> hopes of success can any other man engage in such an enquiry ?

At the end of his Optics, he added two treatises which are purely mathematical ; the one concerning *the Quadrature of Curves* ; the other is an *Enumeration of the Lines of the third Order*, as he calls them. He afterwards omitted them, as being too different from the subject of his book ; and in 1711 they were printed separately, with an *Analysis by infinite Equations*, and the *Method of Fluxions*. I need not here add ; that through all these performances there shines that sublime and refined geometry, which was peculiar to himself alone.

One would naturally think, that being thus swallowed up in speculation, he should neither have had inclination, nor capacity for business. And yet in 1687, the year he published his *Principia*, when the privileges of the University of Cambridge (where he continued Professor of the Mathematics ever since the year 1669, that Dr. Barrow resigned in his favour) were attacked by King James II, he appeared as one of the most zealous defenders of them, and was accordingly nominated one of the University's Delegates to the High-Commission-

<sup>9</sup> Yes ; but the schoolmen knew nothing about them ; for they did not so much as know, by what means they produce their respective effects.

<sup>r</sup> Sir Isaac himself has proposed a conjecture at the end of his Opticks concerning the cause of gravity.

Court.

Court. He was also chosen one of their Members for the Convention-Parliament in 1688, in which he sat till it was dissolved.

In 1696, the Earl of Hallifax, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the great patron of the learned, (for the English Nobility do not value themselves upon a contempt for men of learning, but are often such themselves) obtained of King William the office of *Warden of the Mint* for Sir Isaac : and in this employment he did very signal service, at the time the money was called in to be recoinced. Three years after, he was advanced to be *Master of the Mint*, (a place of very considerable profit) which he held till the day of his death.

It may perhaps be thought, that he had nothing to recommend him to such an employment, but his great skill in mathematics and natural philosophy ; and indeed, it frequently requires very difficult calculations, and a great number of chymical experiments ; and he has given sufficient proofs of his abilities this way, in his *Table of the Assays of foreign Coins*, printed at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book. But his genius extended likewise to affairs of mere politicks, without the least mixture of speculative science. He was a second time chosen Member of Parliament for the University in 1701. After all, it is perhaps a mistake to look upon learning and business as inconsistent with one another, especially in men of a certain turn of mind. Political affairs, when thoroughly understood, naturally form themselves into very subtle calculations, and nice combinations, which minds accustomed to sublime speculations do the more readily and surely comprehend, as soon  
as

as they are acquainted with the proper facts, and furnished with the necessary materials.

Sir Isaac Newton had the singular good fortune to enjoy the reward of his merit in his life-time; very different in this from Des Cartes, who was never honoured till after his death. The English do not pay the less regard to great abilities for being of their own growth; far from endeavouring to depretiate them by ill-natured criticisms; far from applauding the attacks made upon them by envy, they all conspire to advance them; and notwithstanding that excessive liberty, which produces so many divisions among them on subjects of the greatest importance, they all agree unanimously in this. They are all sensible how much glory a great genius reflects upon the State; and whoever is capable of procuring it to their country, is infinitely dear to them upon that account. All the learned men of a nation, which produces such numbers of them, placed Sir Isaac Newton at their head by a kind of general acclamation; they owned him for their master and their leader, and not a rebel dared to rise up against him; nor would they have endured even a faint admirer. His philosophy was adopted by all England; it reigns in the Royal Society, and in all the excellent productions of its members; as if it were already consecrated by the veneration due to the remotest antiquity. He was revered in short to such a degree, that death could not procure him any new honours, for he himself saw his own apotheosis. Tacitus, who has upbraided the Romans with their extreme neglect of the great men of their nation, would have bestowed a very different panegyric upon the English. It was in vain for the Romans to have

have excused themselves, by alledging that great merit was become familiar to them ; Tacitus might have answered them, that great merit was never common ; or at least that they ought, if possible, to make it so, by the honour they conferred upon it.

In 1703, Sir Isaac Newton was chosen President of the Royal Society, and continued in the chair for twenty three years without interruption, till the day of his death. A singular instance ; nor did they apprehend any reason to be afraid of the consequence of such a precedent.

In 1705, Q. Anne created him Knight ; a title of honour, which shows at least that his fame had reached the throne, where the most illustrious names do not always arrive.

He was better known than ever at Court under the reign of King George. The Princess of Wales, now Queen of England, as she is endued by nature with an excellent understanding, which she has improved by many acquired accomplishments, would often propose such learned difficulties to this great man, as none but himself could answer to her satisfaction. She has been frequently heard to declare in public, that she thought herself happy in living at the same time, and conversing with him. In how many other ages, and in how many other nations might he have been placed, and never have found a Princess of Wales !

He had written a treatise of ancient Chronology, which he did not think of publishing ; but the Princess, to whom he communicated the chief particulars of this plan, found them so  
uncom-

uncommon and so ingenious, that she desired to have an abstract of the whole work, which was never to go out of her hands, but to be reserved for her own private use : And she keeps it to this day among her choicest treasures. However, a copy of it stole abroad ; for it was natural that curiosity, excited by so rare a piece of Sir Isaac Newton's, should employ the utmost art to come at such a treasure ; and one must be very severe indeed to condemn it. This copy was brought over into France by the person who was so fortunate as to possess it, and as he had the greatest esteem for it, he did not keep it up so closely, but that it was seen, translated, and at last printed.

The principal point on which Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology turns, (as far as appears by his own abstract of it) is, by pursuing with a great deal of subtilty the faint tracks of the ancient Greek astronomy, to determine the position of the equinoctial colures, in the time of Chiron the centaur, with respect to the fixed stars. As it is now certain that these stars have a motion in longitude of one degree in seventy two years ; could we once know through what fixed stars the colure passed in Chiron's time, by taking the distance of these stars from those through which it now passes, we could determine what number of years is elapsed since Chiron's time. As Chiron was one of the Argonauts, this would fix the time of that famed expedition, and consequently that of the Trojan war, the two great events upon which all the ancient chronology depends. Sir Isaac places them 500 years nearer the birth of Christ, than other Chronologers generally do. This system has been attacked by two learned Gentlemen

tlemen of France. The English censure them, as having been too forward with their criticisms, before they saw the entire work. But is not even this forwardness an honour to Sir Isaac? They laid hold of the first opportunity that offered them the glory of contending with so great an antagonist; and they are like to find others in his stead. The celebrated Dr. Halley, first Astronomer to his Majesty of Great Britain, has already written in defence of the astronomical part of the system; and his regard for the memory of his illustrious friend, as well as his great skill in that science, must render him a very formidable adversary. But in short, this dispute is not yet ended; the very few who are proper judges of the affair, have not decided it; and though it should happen that the strongest arguments were on one side, and only the name of Sir Isaac Newton on the other; yet the world would perhaps remain some time in suspense, and perhaps would be excusable for so doing.

No sooner was the Academy of Sciences empowered by the regulations of 1699, to admit foreigners into their society, but they immediately pitched upon Sir Isaac Newton. He held a constant correspondence with them, by sending them whatever he published. These were his former works, which he either reprinted, or which appeared for the first time. For after he was employed in the Mint, as he had been for some years before, he engaged in no considerable undertaking either of Mathematicks or Philosophy. For, although the solution of the famous Problem of the Trajectories, which was proposed to the English as a challenge by Mr. Leibnitz during his dispute with

with them, and was the most difficult and intricate proposition he could think of after a great deal of study, might pass for a considerable performance in another, yet it was hardly any more than an amusement to Sir Isaac. He received the Problem at four a-clock in the evening, as he was returning from the Mint; and though he was extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution of it before he went to bed.

After having been so eminently serviceable to all the learned in Europe by his improvements in speculative knowledge, he gave himself entirely up to the service of his country, by an application to business of a more evident and immediate advantage to it; the most sensible pleasure a sincere lover of his country can have. However, he still employed all his leisure hours in gratifying the curiosity of his mind, which disdained no sort of knowledge, but knew how to improve itself by every thing. After his death there were found among his papers abundance of discourses upon subjects of Antiquity, History, <sup>f</sup> and even Divinity, though so remote from the sciences for which he was distinguished. He allowed no moments of his time to pass idle or unemployed, nor did he employ them in a trifling manner, or with a slight attention.

He all along enjoyed a settled and equal state of health to the age of fourscore; a very material circumstance of the singular happiness of his life. About that time he began to be afflicted with an incontinence of urine; however, for

<sup>f</sup> To which may be added in Chymistry, and in Mathematicks; as Elementary Geometry, descriptions of Curves, Constructions of Equations, Series, Fluxions, Angular Sections, Mechanicks, &c.

the five years after which preceded his death, he had great intervals of health, or ease, which he procured by the observance of a strict regimen, and precautions which till then he never had occasion for. He was obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit, who had married one of his nieces, for the discharge of his office in the Mint, being well assured that he committed so important and so nice a trust to very safe hands. His judgment of him has been confirmed since his death by his Majesty's choice of Mr. Conduit to succeed him. Sir Isaac did not undergo much pain till the last twenty days of his life. It was then believed that he certainly had the Stone, and could not be cured. When the paroxysms were so violent, that large drops of sweat run down his face, he never uttered the least complaint, nor showed any sign of impatience; and as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile, and talk with his usual cheerfulness. Till then he had always read or wrote several hours in a day. He read the News-Papers on Saturday the 18th of March, O. S. in the morning, and discoursed a long time with the celebrated Dr. Mead, his Physician; he had then the perfect use of all his senses, and his understanding; but in the evening he quite lost all his faculties, and never after recovered them; as if they had been subject only to a total extinction, and not to a gradual decay. He died on the Monday following, which was March the 20th, in the 85th year of his age.

His Body lay in state in the Jerusalem chamber, from which persons of the highest rank, and sometimes crowned heads are carried to their graves. He was conveyed to Westminster Abbey, the Pall being held up by the Lord Chan-



Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suffex, and Macclesfield. From this solemn function's being performed by these six Peers of England, we may form a judgment of the great number of persons of distinction that honoured his funeral. The Bishop of Rochester read the office, attended by all the Clergy of the Church. The corps was interred near the entry into the Choir. We must go back almost as far as the antient Greeks, to find an instance of so great a veneration paid to learning. Sir Isaac Newton's family imitate the example of Greece still further, by a monument they are erecting to his memory at a very considerable expence. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have allowed it to be built in a part of the Abbey, which has frequently been refused to persons of the first quality. His country and his family have honoured him with no less gratitude, than if he had made choice of them himself.

He was of a middling stature, and a little inclined to be fat in his later years; his eye was very quick and piercing, and his countenance at the same time both venerable and engaging, especially when he would take off his Perriwig, and show his silver hair, which was pretty thick. He never made use of spectacles, and lost but one tooth during his whole life. His name will justify our descending to such minute particulars.

He was of a very meek temper, and a great lover of peace. He would rather have chosen to remain in obscurity, than to have the calm of his life ruffled by those storms and disputes, which genius and learning always draw upon those who are too eminent for them. We learn

JANUARY 1728.

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from

from one of his letters in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, that when his <sup>c</sup> Treatise of Optics was ready for the press, some objections <sup>u</sup> too rashly raised against it, made him lay aside the design for a while. *I blamed my own imprudence*, says he, *for parting with so real a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow.* But this shadow did not escape him afterwards, nor did it cost him that quiet which he so much valued, but proved as much a real happiness to him as his quiet itself.

So sweet a disposition naturally promises a great deal of modesty; and we are assured that his was very great, and always continued so without any alteration, though the whole world conspired against it. He never talked either of himself or others; nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. 'Tis true indeed, the world spared him the pain of publishing his own merit; but how industriously would most other men have sought all opportunities to do themselves the grateful office, which so few dare trust to the care of another? How many great men, who have been universally applauded, have spoiled the music of their praises, by joining their own voices in the concert?

He was candid and affable, always upon a level with his company. Minds of the highest

<sup>c</sup> Not his Treatise of Opticks published by himself first in 1704, but his *Lectiones Opticae* read in 1669, in the publick schools of the University of Cambridge, which were never printed by him. This Work in the original Latin is now in the press.

<sup>u</sup> These objections were raised upon occasion of what Sir Isaac published in the Philosophical Transactions concerning light and colours.

rank never despise those who are below them, while others condemn even those that are above them. He never thought either his merit or his reputation sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life : no singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men.

Though he was firmly attached to the Church of England, he was averse to the persecution of Non-conformists, in order to bring them over to it. He judged of men by their manners ; and the true schismatics, in his opinion, were the wicked and vitious. Not that he confined his principles to natural Religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of Revelation ; and amidst the great variety of books he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the Bible.

He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, which the plentiful revenues of a handsome patrimony and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent oeconomy, put into his power. He thought a legacy was no gift, and therefore left no Will ; for he would even strip himself, as often as he had occasion to show his generosity either to his Relations, or others whom he knew to stand in need of his assistance. The instances of his liberality in both these respects are neither few nor inconsiderable. When decency upon any occasion required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At all other times that pomp, which seems great to little minds only, was utterly retrenched, and his income reserved for better uses. It would have been really surprising, if a mind accustomed to reflection, and nourished as

it were by reasoning, had been at the same time fond of empty show.

He never married, and perhaps he never had leisure to think of it; deep sunk at first in a severe and constant course of profound study during the prime of life, and afterwards engaged in the hurry of an important employment, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home.

He left behind him a personal estate of two and thirty thousand pounds sterling, which amounts to seven hundred thousand French livres. His rival, Mr. Leibnitz, was far from being so rich, though he died in very good circumstances, and left a considerable sum in ready money \*. These two uncommon instances, and both of them in foreigners, seem so much to deserve our notice, that I could not omit them.

z See the Hist. of the Royal Acad. for 1716. p. 128.

Remark omitted, p. 53. at l. 2.

Sir Isaac himself was Lord of the Manor of Wolstrop.



## A R T I C L E VI.

### R O M E.

**M**<sup>R.</sup> Charles Maiella, Secretary of the Pope's Briefs to Princes, and F. Peter Benedetti, a Maronite, have jointly translated into,

into Latin from an antient Syriac MS. and enriched with learned dissertations: 1. The History of the Persecution of the Christians under *Sapores* King of Persia, and his Successors, with the Acts of several Martyrs. 2. The Acts of other Martyrs, never published before. 3. The Acts of S. Simeon the antient Stylite, (so called, because he lived upon the top of a pillar or column at Antioch of six and thirty cubits high) written by one of his contemporaries, and never before translated nor published. These three pieces will make one volume in Fol. Some think that these Acts of S. Simeon, being different from those of which Theodoret, and Antony that Saint's disciple, have left us an account, were written by one Cosmas, who lived in intimate friendship with St. Simeon, and after his death composed a relation of all those Acts of his, which he either saw himself, or was credibly informed of. The history of the persecution under *Sapores* is also thought to be the same that is contained in the Acts written by S. Marutas, Bishop of Tagrit, or Martyropolis in Mesopotamia, and famed for his learning and miracles.

## V E R O N A.

**A**Lbert Tumermanni is printing a new Work of the celebrated Marquis Scipio Maffei, entituled, *Arte critica Diplomatica, ossia saggio di essa, rappresentato co' due primi libri, che vengono a comprendere un' Istoria de' Documenti d'ogni genere, e dello studio intorno ad essi.* This Work contains the origin and history of the *Diplomatic Art*. In it are to be found several valuable monuments preserved on Egyptian paper; and a history

history in monkish rhyme, which F. Mabillon first published without knowing it to be in verse. This is not the only mistake of F. Mabillon's that M. Maffei has corrected. One of the most curious parts in this book, is a treatise of the origin of the *Etrusci* and *Latini*, which has so much puzzled the critics. He was led to this by the Tables of Eugubio, wherein he finds some very antient monuments in the Etruscan and Pelasgian language, which he thinks was the antient Latin. The dedication to the King of Sardinia is followed by a representation of the triumphal Arch of Susa in Piedmont, with all its Bas-Reliefs, and its Inscription, which appears here entire for the first time. Hence the Critics will be able to judge, whether this Arch be the same that Augustus erected A. U. C. 740, and 14 years before Christ, as many learned men think. The Academy of Verona, chiefly out of a particular esteem for this book, has decreed M. Maffei a marble Bust with an honourable inscription.

This noble Author has already gained a great reputation by his other works. 1. *Della Scienza chiamata cavalleresca*; in which he gives a very distinct and learned account of the behaviour of the antients with respect to what we call points of honour, and traces the rise and origin of the customs that now prevail: which is a subject never treated by any before. 2. A Tragedy, called *Merope*, which had very great success. It was translated into English, and afterwards into other languages, and is an instance that a Play may please, though there be no love in it. 3. *Rime e Prose*: A Miscellany of Verse and Prose. His Poetry is very much admired. 4. *Traduttori Italiani*; giving a full account of all the Italian transla-

translations of the Greek and Latin Authors. 5. *Della antica Condizione di Verona*; composed in 20 days time. He therein refutes the opinion of a friend, who pretended that Brescia was the capital of the Veronese; and designs to handle this point more largely in his *Verona Illustrata*, which he is preparing for the press. 6. *De fabula ordinis equestris Constantiniani*; in which he ridicules the fable of the order of knighthood instituted by Constantine, and discovers the true Author and date of it. 7. *Cassiodorii Complexiones*. The MS. M. Maffei used was all in capitals, and appears to be as antient as the Author, whose name is thrice found in it, written *Cassiodorii*. Several proper names of the Romans became the names of families, and then the termination in *us* was changed into *ius*, as in this case. M. Maffei is also preparing for the press some *Greek Anecdotes*.

## P A R I S.

**I.** **M.** Rollin has published a third Volume of his *Maniere d'étudier & d'enseigner les belles lettres*; and it will soon be followed by a fourth.

**II.** Richelet's French Dictionary is soon to be published, with such considerable additions that it will make three Volumes in *Folio*.

**III.** F. des Molets, Library-keeper to the Fathers of the Oratory, is busy in correcting and enlarging P. Le Long's *Bibliothèque Historique*. He is very capable of such a work. His *Memoires de Literature* continue to come out every three months.

**IV.** M. Gaullier, Professor in the University of Paris, has just published, *Regles de Poétique, tirées d'Aristote, d'Horace, de Despreaux, & d'autres celebres Auteurs.* 1728. in 12°.

L O N-

## L O N D O N.

**M**R. Robert Castell, Architect, has published Proposals for printing by subscription, the Plans of two famous Roman *Villas* (or country-seats) the Laurentinum and Tusculum of Pliny the younger, as described by himself in the 17th Epistle of the second book, and the 6th Epistle of the fifth. He also promises a translation of those two Epistles, with explanatory notes; and remarks upon the two Villas, and the Baths, Gardens, &c. of the Antients: the whole being illustrated in several large drawings.

We daily expect to see Dr. Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. The great encouragement which his proposals met with, shew the high opinion the world has conceived of it; and there is no doubt but it will answer the general expectation when it appears.

We also hope every day to see Mr. De Voltaire's *Henriade*. He has greatly raised the expectation of the curious, by a beautiful Essay he lately published upon the Civil Wars of France, (which is the subject of his Poem) and upon the Epic Poets from Homer down to Milton. As this Gentleman seems to be thoroughly acquainted with all the best Poets both antient and modern, and judges so well of their beauties and faults, we have reason to hope that the *Henriade* will be a finished performance; and as he writes with uncommon elegance and force in English, though he has been but eighteen months in this country, we expect to find in his Poem all that beauty and strength of which his native language is capable.





THE  
Present State  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC  
OF  
LETTERS.  
For *February*, 1728.  
VOL. I.

— *Fungar vice cotis, acutum*  
*Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secunda.*  
Horat.

L O N D O N:  
Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNES,  
at the West End of St. Paul's. MDCCLXXVIII.

Price One Shilling,

# BOOKS printed for W. and J. INNY S.

1. **A** Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Religion ; wherein some Positions of Mr. *Chandler*, the Author of *Literal Scheme*, &c. and an Anonymous Letter on that Subject, are occasionally consider'd. With an Appendix, containing a Letter from the Reverend Dr. *Marshall*, and an Answer to the same. By *J. Rogers*, D. D. Canon of *Wells*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. 8vo. 1728.
2. The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Revelation asserted, in Eight Sermons. To which is prefix'd, a Preface with some Remarks on a late Book, entitled, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy* consider'd, &c. By *John Rogers*, D. D. &c. 8vo. 1727.
3. *Electa Minora ex Ovidio, Tibullo & Propertio. Ufui Scholæ Etonensis. Quarto castigata, & ubi visum explicata.* 8vo. 1728.
4. Society recommended : A Sermon preached before the Society of the Natives at *Heresfordshire*, at their Anniversary Meeting at *St. Michael's Cornbil*, Feb. 7. 1727. By *Thomas Bisse*, D. D. and Chancellor of the Church of *Heresford*. 8vo. 1728.
5. A Panegyric upon Sir *Isaac Newton*. Translated from the *French*, pronounced by Mr. *Fontinelle* before the Royal Academy at *Paris*. With Remarks. 8vo. 1728.
6. The Adventures of *Telemachus*, with Cuts. The Twelfth Edition. 2 Vols. 12o. 1728.
7. Philosophical Transactions, Numb. 399. for the Months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, 1727. containing some farther Remarks on *P. Soucier's* Dissertation against Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology. By *Edmund Halley*, LL. D. Astron. Reg. In a Letter to Dr. *Furin*, Col. Med. and S. R. Soc. &c. With an Index to the 34th Volume. Where may be had a compleat Set from the Beginning, A. D. 1665.
8. *Tatlers*. A New Edition, in Four Pocket Volumes. 1728.
9. The Symptoms, Nature, Cause and Cure of a *Gonorrhœa*. By *W. Cockburn*, M. D. and F. R. S. &c. The Fourth Edition, with Additions. 8vo. 1728.
10. Astronomical Lectures read in the publick Schools at *Cambridge*, by *W. Whiston*, M. A. To which are added, the Astronomical Tables of Mr. *Flamsteed*, corrected ; and those of Dr. *Halley*, M. *Cassini*, and Mr. *Street*. The Second Edition, corrected. 8vo. 1728.



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**T H E**



THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

FOR FEBRUARY 1728.

ARTICLE VII.

A LETTER concerning the Art or Science  
of DESIGN; written from Italy, on the  
occasion of the judgment of Hercules,  
to my Lord \* \* \* \*.

—ante omnia Musæ.

Virg. Georg. Lib. 2.

AS the Reader may be assured that the following Piece was composed by that noble Genius the late Earl of Shaftesbury, his name is sufficient to recommend it to the curious, especially seeing it is not to be found in the late Edition of his Works. It was written from Naples to the late Lord Somers, to whom also the Letter upon Enthusiasm was addressed;  
FEBRUARY 1728. H and

and it relates to his *Notion of the historical Draught or Tablature of the judgment of Hercules*, which is the last piece of his Characteristics, and should be read along with this. In the Letter which I now publish, every English reader must be delighted to observe that passionate love of his country, which the true Patriot discovers on every occasion, that has but the least relation to its happiness or glory, and those just reflections upon our darling Liberty, *so improving, so natural, so congenial to the liberal Arts* †, so much envied by our neighbours, and condemned by none among our selves, but a few narrow spirits, who are well enough pleased that a hedge be made about themselves, and their houses, and all that they have on every side, but do not seem to know that they would be among the first to complain of any abridgment, that should lay the least restraint upon their own freedom. But let us hear our noble Author.

“ My LORD,

“ **T**HIS Letter comes to your Lordship accompanied with a small Writing intitled A NOTION. For such alone can that Piece deservingly be called, which aspires no higher than to the forming of a Project, and that too in so vulgar a science as Painting. But whatever the subject be, if it can prove any way entertaining to you, it will sufficiently answer my design. And should it possibly have that good success, I should have no ordinary opinion of my Project : since I know how hard it would be for any one to  
“ give

† Letter, p. 101.

“ give your Lordship a real entertainment by  
 “ any thing which was not in some respect  
 “ worthy and useful.

“ On this account I must, by way of pre-  
 “ vention, inform your Lordship, that after I  
 “ had conceived my NOTION such as you see it  
 “ upon paper, I was not contented with this,  
 “ but fell immediately to work, and by the  
 “ hand of a Master-Painter brought it into pra-  
 “ ctice, and formed a real *Design*. This was  
 “ not enough. I resolved afterwards to see  
 “ what effect it would have, when taken out of  
 “ mere black and white, into colours : And  
 “ thus a *Sketch* was afterwards drawn. This  
 “ pleased so well, that being encouraged by  
 “ the *Virtuosi*, who are so eminent in this part  
 “ of the world, I resolved at last to engage  
 “ my Painter in the great work. Immediately  
 “ a cloth was bespoke of a suitable dimension,  
 “ and the figures taken as big or bigger than  
 “ the common life ; the subject being of the  
 “ heroick kind, and requiring rather such fi-  
 “ gures as should appear above ordinary human  
 “ stature.

“ Thus my NOTION, as light as it may prove  
 “ in the treatise, is become very substantial in  
 “ the workmanship. The piece is still in hand ;  
 “ and like to continue so for some time. O-  
 “ therwise the first draught or design should  
 “ have accompanied the treatise, as the trea-  
 “ tise does this Letter. But the design having  
 “ grown thus into a sketch, as the sketch af-  
 “ terwards into a picture ; I thought it fit your  
 “ Lordship should either see the several pieces  
 “ together, or be troubled only with that

“ which was the best ; as undoubtedly the great  
“ one must prove, if the Master I employ sinks  
“ not very much below himself in this per-  
“ formance.

“ Far surely should I be, my Lord, from  
“ conceiving any vanity or pride in amusements  
“ of such an inferior kind as these ; especi-  
“ ally were they such as they may naturally at  
“ first sight appear. I pretend not here to a-  
“ pologize either for them, or for my self. Your  
“ Lordship however knows I have naturally  
“ ambition enough to make me desirous of em-  
“ ploying my self in business of a higher or-  
“ der : since it has been my fortune in publick  
“ affairs to act often in concert with you, and  
“ in the same views on the interest of Europe  
“ and mankind. There was a time, and that  
“ a very early one of my life, when I was not  
“ wanting to my country in this respect. But  
“ after some years of hearty labour and pains  
“ in this kind of workmanship, an unhappy  
“ breach in my health drove me not only from  
“ the seat of business, but forced me to seek  
“ these foreign climates ; where, as mild as the  
“ winters generally are, I have with much ado  
“ lived out this latter one ; and am now, as  
“ your Lordship finds, employing my self in  
“ such easy studies as are the most suitable to  
“ my state of health, and to the genius of the  
“ country where I am confined.

“ This in the mean time I can, with some  
“ assurance, say to your Lordship in a kind of  
“ spirit of prophecy, from what I have obser-  
“ ved of the rising genius of our nation, That  
“ if we live to see a peace any way answerable  
“ to



“ to that generous spirit with which this war  
 “ was begun, and carried on, for our own Li-  
 “ berty, and that of Europe ; the figure which  
 “ we are like to make abroad, and the increase  
 “ of knowledge, industry and sense at home,  
 “ will make united Britain the principal seat  
 “ of arts ; and by her politeness and advantages  
 “ in this kind, will show evidently, how much  
 “ she has been owing to those Counsels, which  
 “ taught her to exert her self so resolutely in  
 “ behalf of the common Cause, and that of her  
 “ own Liberty, and happy Constitution, neces-  
 “ sarily included.

“ I can my self remember the time, when,  
 “ in respect of Musick, our reigning taste was  
 “ in many degrees inferior to the French. The  
 “ long reign of luxury and pleasure, under  
 “ King Charles the Second, and the foreign  
 “ helps and studied advantages given to Musick  
 “ in a following reign, could not raise our ge-  
 “ nius the least in this respect. But when the  
 “ spirit of the nation was grown more free ;  
 “ tho’ engaged at that time in the fiercest war,  
 “ and with the most doubtful success, we no  
 “ sooner began to turn our selves towards Mu-  
 “ sicks, and enquire what Italy in particular pro-  
 “ duced, but in an instant we outstripped our  
 “ neighbouring French, entred into a genius  
 “ far beyond theirs, and raised our selves an  
 “ ear, and judgment not inferior to the best  
 “ now in the world.

“ In the same manner, as to Painting. Tho’  
 “ we have as yet nothing of our own native  
 “ growth in this kind worthy of being menti-  
 “ oned ; yet since the Publick has of late be-

“ gun to express a relish for engravings, draw-  
 “ ings, copyings, and for the original paint-  
 “ ings of the chief Italian schools, (so contra-  
 “ ry to the modern French) I doubt not, that  
 “ in very few years, we shall make an equal  
 “ progress in this other science. And when  
 “ our humour turns us to cultivate these de-  
 “ signing arts, our genius, I am persuaded,  
 “ will naturally carry us over the slighter am-  
 “ usements, and lead us to that higher, more  
 “ serious, and noble part of imitation, which  
 “ relates to history, human Nature, and the  
 “ chief degree or order of Beauty ; I mean  
 “ that of the rational life ; distinct from the  
 “ merely vegetable and sensible ; as in animals,  
 “ or plants : according to those several degrees  
 “ or orders of painting, which your Lordship  
 “ will find suggested in this extemporary Noti-  
 “ on I have sent you.

“ As for Architecture, 'tis no wonder if so  
 “ many noble designs of this kind have miscar-  
 “ ried amongst us ; since the genius of our  
 “ nation has hitherto been so little turned this  
 “ way, that through several reigns we have  
 “ patiently seen the noblest publick buildings  
 “ perish (if I may say so) under the hand of  
 “ one single Court-Architect ; who, if he had  
 “ been able to have profited by experience,  
 “ would have long since, at our expence, have  
 “ proved the greatest Master in the world. But  
 “ I question whether our patience is like to  
 “ hold much longer. The devastation so long  
 “ committed in this kind, has made us begin  
 “ to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of  
 “ a new palace spoiled, or a new design com-  
 “ mitted to some rash or impotent pretender.

“ 'Tis

“ ’Tis the good fate of our nation in this  
“ particular, that there remains yet two of the  
“ noblest subjects for Architecture ; our Prince’s  
“ palace, and our house of Parliament. For I  
“ cannot but fancy that when Whitehall is  
“ thought of, the neighbouring Lords and  
“ Commons will at the same time be placed in  
“ better chambers and apartments than at pre-  
“ sent ; were it only for Majesty’s sake, and as  
“ a magnificence becoming the person of the  
“ Prince, who here appears in full solemnity.  
“ Nor do I fear that when these new subjects  
“ are attempted, we should miscarry as grossly  
“ as we have done in others before. Our State  
“ in this respect, may prove perhaps more  
“ fortunate than our Church ; in having  
“ waited till a national taste was formed, be-  
“ fore these edifices were undertaken. But the  
“ zeal of the nation could not, it seems, admit  
“ so long a delay in their ecclesiastical stru-  
“ ctures ; particularly their Metropolitan. And  
“ since the zeal of this sort has been newly  
“ kindled amongst us, we may see actually from  
“ afar the many spires arising in our great city,  
“ with such hasty and sudden growth as may  
“ be the occasion perhaps that our immediate  
“ relish may be hereafter censured as retaining  
“ much of what artists call the Gothick kind.

“ Hardly, indeed, as the Publick now stands,  
“ should we bear to see a Whitehall treated like  
“ a Hampton-Court, or even a new Cathedral  
“ like St. Paul’s. Almost every one now be-  
“ comes concerned, and interesses himself in  
“ such publick structures. Even those pieces  
“ too are brought under the common censure,  
“ which,

H 4

“ which, tho’ raised by private men, are of  
 “ such a grandeur and magnificence, as to be-  
 “ come national ornaments. The ordinary man  
 “ may build his cottage, or the plain Gentle-  
 “ man his country-house according as he fan-  
 “ cies : But when a great man builds, he will  
 “ find little quarter from the publick, if instead  
 “ of a beautiful pile, he raises, at a vast ex-  
 “ pence, such a false and counterfeit piece of  
 “ magnificence as can be justly arraigned for its  
 “ deformity by so many knowing men in art,  
 “ and by the whole people ; who, in such a  
 “ conjuncture, readily follow their opinion.

“ In reality, the people are no small parties  
 “ in this cause. Nothing moves successfully  
 “ without them. There can be no Publick,  
 “ but where they are included. And without  
 “ a publick voice, knowingly guided and di-  
 “ rected, there is nothing which can raise a  
 “ true ambition in the artist ; nothing which  
 “ can exalt the genius of the workman, or  
 “ make him emulous of after-fame, and of the  
 “ approbation of his country, and of posterity.  
 “ For with these he naturally, as a freeman,  
 “ must take part : in these he has a passionate  
 “ concern and interest, raised in him by the  
 “ same genius of Liberty, the same laws and  
 “ government by which his property and the  
 “ rewards of his pains and industry are secured  
 “ to him, and to his generation after him.

“ Every thing co-operates, in such a state,  
 “ towards the improvement of art and science.  
 “ And for the designing Arts in particular,  
 “ such as Architecture, Painting and Statuary,  
 “ they are in a manner linked together. The  
 “ taste

" taste of one kind brings necessarily that of  
 " the others along with it. When the free spi-  
 " rit of a nation turns it self this way, judg-  
 " ments are formed ; criticks arise ; the pub-  
 " lick eye and ear improves ; a right taste pre-  
 " vails, and in a manner forces its way. No-  
 " thing is so improving, nothing so natural, so  
 " congenial to the liberal arts, as that reigning  
 " liberty and high spirit of a people, which  
 " from the habit of judging in the highest mat-  
 " ters for themselves, makes them freely judge  
 " of other subjects, and enter thorowly into  
 " the characters as well of men and manners,  
 " as of the products or works of men, in art  
 " and science. So much, my Lord, are we  
 " owing to the excellence of our national Con-  
 " stitution, and legal Monarchy, happily fitted  
 " for us ; and which alone could hold together  
 " so mighty a people ; all sharers (tho' at so  
 " far a distance from each other) in the go-  
 " vernment of themselves ; and meeting under  
 " one head in one vast Metropolis ; whose e-  
 " normous growth, however censurable in other  
 " respects, is actually a cause that workmanship  
 " and arts of so many kinds arise to such per-  
 " fection.

" What encouragement our higher powers  
 " may think fit to give these growing Arts, I  
 " will not pretend to guess. This I only know ;  
 " that 'tis so much for their advantage and in-  
 " terest to make themselves the chief parties  
 " in the cause, that I wish no Court or Mi-  
 " nistry, besides a truly virtuous and wise one,  
 " may ever concern themselves in the affair.  
 " For should they do so, they would in reality  
 " do more harm than good ; since 'tis not the  
 " nature

“ nature of a Court (such as Courts generally  
 “ are) to improve, but rather corrupt a taste.  
 “ And what is in the beginning set wrong by  
 “ their example, is hardly ever afterwards reco-  
 “ verable in the genius of a nation.

“ Content therefore I am, my Lord, that  
 “ Britain stands in this respect as she now does.  
 “ Nor can one, methinks, with just reason re-  
 “ gret her having hitherto made no greater ad-  
 “ vancement in these affairs of art. As her  
 “ Constitution has grown, and been established,  
 “ she has in proportion fitted her self for other  
 “ improvements. There has been no anticipa-  
 “ tion in the case. And in this surely she must  
 “ be esteemed wise, as well as happy ; that e’re  
 “ she attempted to raise her self any other taste  
 “ or relish, she secured her self a right one in  
 “ Government. She has now the advantage of  
 “ beginning in other matters, on a new foot.  
 “ She has her Models yet to seek, her Scale and  
 “ Standard to form, with deliberation and good  
 “ choice. Able enough she is at present to  
 “ shift for her self ; however abandoned or  
 “ helpless she has been left by those whom it  
 “ became to assist her. Hardly, indeed, could  
 “ she procure a single Academy for the train-  
 “ ing of her youth in exercises. As good Sol-  
 “ diers as we are, and as good horses as our  
 “ climate affords, our Princes, rather than ex-  
 “ pend their treasure this way, have suffer’d our  
 “ youth to pass into a foreign nation, to learn  
 “ to ride. As for other Academies, such as  
 “ those for Painting, Sculpture, or Archite-  
 “ cture, we have not so much as heard of the  
 “ proposal ; whilst the Prince of our rival na-  
 “ tion raises Academies, breeds youth, and  
 “ sends

“ sends rewards and pensions into foreign coun-  
 “ tries, to advance the interest and credit of  
 “ his own. Now if notwithstanding the indu-  
 “ stry and pains of this foreign Court, and the  
 “ supine unconcernedness of our own ; the na-  
 “ tional taste however rises, and already shews  
 “ it self in many respects beyond that of our  
 “ so highly assisted neighbours ; what greater  
 “ proof can there be of the superiority of ge-  
 “ nius in one of these Nations above the o-  
 “ ther ?

“ ’Tis but this moment that I chance to read  
 “ in an article of one of the Gazettes from  
 “ Paris, that it is resolved at Court to establish  
 “ a new Academy for political affairs. *In it the*  
 “ *present chief Minister is to preside ; having*  
 “ *under him six Academists douez des Talens né-*  
 “ *cessaires.*—*No person to be received under the*  
 “ *age of twenty five. A thousand Livres pension*  
 “ *for each Scholar.*—*Able Masters to be ap-*  
 “ *pointed for teaching them the necessary Sci-*  
 “ *ences, and instructing them in the Treaties of*  
 “ *Peace and Alliances, which have been formerly*  
 “ *made.*—*The Members to assemble three times*  
 “ *a week.*—*C’est de ce Seminaire (says the*  
 “ *Writer ) qu’on tirera les Secretaires d’Ambas-*  
 “ *sade ; qui par degrez pourront monter à de*  
 “ *plus hauts Emplois.*

“ I must confess, my Lord, as great an ad-  
 “ mirer as I am of these regular institutions, I  
 “ cannot but look upon an Academy for Mini-  
 “ sters as a very extraordinary establishment ;  
 “ especially in such a Monarchy as France, and  
 “ at such a conjuncture as the present. It looks  
 “ as if the Ministers of that Court had disco-  
 “ vered

“ vered lately some new methods of Negotia-  
 “ tion, such as their predeceffors Richelieu and  
 “ Mazarin never thought of : or that, on the  
 “ contrary, they have found themselves fo de-  
 “ clined, and at such a loss in the management  
 “ of this present Treaty, as to be forced to take  
 “ their lesson from some of those Ministers with  
 “ whom they treat : a reproach of which, no  
 “ doubt, they must be highly sensible.

“ But ’tis not my design here to entertain  
 “ your Lordship with any reflections upon Po-  
 “ liticks, or the methods which the French  
 “ may take to raise themselves new Ministers,  
 “ or new Generals, who may prove a better  
 “ match for us than hitherto, whilst we held  
 “ our old. I will only say to your Lordship on  
 “ this subject of Academies, that indeed I have  
 “ less concern for the deficiency of such a one  
 “ as this, than of any other which could be  
 “ thought of for England ; and that as for a  
 “ Seminary of Statesmen, I doubt not but,  
 “ without this extraordinary help, we shall be  
 “ able, out of our old stock, and the common  
 “ course of business, constantly to furnish a  
 “ sufficient number of able-headed and duly qua-  
 “ lified persons to serve upon occasion, either  
 “ at home, or in our foreign Treaties ; as  
 “ often as such persons accordingly qualified  
 “ shall duly, honestly, and *bonâ fide* be required  
 “ to serve.

“ I return therefore to my *Virtuoso* Science ;  
 “ which being my chief amusement in this  
 “ place and circumstance, your Lordship has  
 “ by it a fresh instance that I can never employ  
 “ my thoughts with satisfaction in any subject,  
 “ with-



“ without making you a party. For even this  
 “ very **N O T I O N** has had its rise chiefly from  
 “ the conversation of a certain day, which I  
 “ had the happiness to pass a few years since in  
 “ the country with your Lordship: ’Twas there  
 “ you shewed me some engravings which had  
 “ been sent you from Italy. And one in par-  
 “ ticular I well remember, of which the subject  
 “ was the very same with that of my written  
 “ **N O T I O N** inclos’d: But by what hand it  
 “ was done, or after what master, or how ex-  
 “ ecuted, I have quite forgot. ’Twas the sum-  
 “ mer-season, when you had recess from busi-  
 “ ness. And I have accordingly calculated this  
 “ Epistle and Project for the same recess and  
 “ leisure. For by the time this can reach  
 “ England, the spring will be far advanc’d,  
 “ and the national affairs in a manner over  
 “ with those who are not in the immediate ad-  
 “ ministration.

“ Were that indeed your Lordship’s lot at  
 “ present, I know not whether in regard to my  
 “ country I should dare throw such amusements  
 “ as these in your way. Yet even in this case,  
 “ I would venture to say however, in defence  
 “ of my project, and of the cause of Painting,  
 “ that could my young Hero come to your  
 “ Lordship as well-represented as he might have  
 “ been, either by the hand of a \* Marat or a  
 “ Jordano (the masters who were still in being,  
 “ and in repute, when I first travelled here in  
 “ Italy) the Picture itself, whatever the Treas-

\* Carlo Marat was yet alive, at the time this letter was written; but had been long superannuated, and incapable of any considerable performance.

“ tise

“ tise proved, would certainly have been worth  
 “ notice, and might have become a present  
 “ worthy of our court, and prince’s palace;  
 “ especially were it so blessed, as to lodge with-  
 “ in it a royal issue of her Majesty’s. Such a  
 “ piece of furniture might well fit the gallery,  
 “ or hall of exercises, where our young Princes  
 “ should learn their usual lessons. And to see  
 “ virtue in this garb and action, might perhaps  
 “ be no slight memorandum hereafter to a roy-  
 “ al youth, who should one day come to un-  
 “ dergo this trial himself; on which his own  
 “ happiness, as well as the fate of Europe and  
 “ of the world, would in so great a measure  
 “ depend.

“ This, my Lord, is making (as you see) the  
 “ most I can of my project, and setting off my  
 “ amusements with the best colour I am able;  
 “ that I may be the more excusable in commu-  
 “ nicating them to your Lordship, and expres-  
 “ sing thus with what zeal I am,

My L O R D,

*Your Lordship’s*

*most Faithful,*

Naples, March 6. N. S.  
1712.

*Humble Servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

ART I-



## ARTICLE VIII.

LA RELIGION des GAULOIS, tirée des plus pures Sources de l'Antiquité. Par le R. P. Dom. \* \* \* Religieux Bénédictin de la Congregation de S. Maur. Ouvrage enrichi de Figures en Taille-douce. A Paris, chez Saugrain Fils. 1727.

That is,

THE RELIGION *of the Gauls, taken from ancient Authors and Monuments.* In Two Volumes 4to. The 1st Vol. pagg. 535. 2d Vol. pagg. 513.

HAVING in the former Journal given an ample account of the first Book, I shall now dispatch the rest. The second treats of *the principal Gods honoured by the Gauls, before they were subdued by the Romans.* Esus was undoubtedly the chief object of their worship; but it is disputed who he was. Several believe him to have been the same with Mars, but our Author pretends he was God Almighty. For, 1. Sueto-

Suetonius † tells us that *Æsar* in Tuscan signified God; and Hesychius says the same thing of *Ἄϊος*. Now the Tuscan, or antient language of Italy; was the same as that of the Umbrians, who, according to Solinus, Isidore of Sevil, and the ancient Greek Interpreter of Lycophron, were a colony of Gauls, and consequently spoke Celtic. The Author also pretends that the word *Efus* is the same as *Ζεὺς*, not only as to the meaning, (for it signifies merely God \*) but also as to the letters and syllables. He observes also that *Ἄϊα*, the feminine of *Ἄϊος* or *Efus*, though it was latterly used to signify Destiny, yet according to Aristotle ‖ and the *Etymologicon magnum* signifies originally God, and his eternal Existence. To confirm this further, he observes, that as he had before proved that the Celtic was much the same with the antient Greek, which Cadmus brought out of Phœnicia, so a great number of Historians and Grammarians tell us that the ancient Latin was the same as the Greek. Festus ‡ says, that in the time of Romulus there was no difference between them, but a little in the pronunciation. Plutarch relates that in the time of Marcellus, the Latin was still very much intermixed with Greek. Varro and Dionysius of Halicarnassus say the same thing; and Pliny adds, that the old Latin characters were the same as the Ionic. 2. Pliny † also gives the indefinite Title of God to the Deity whom the Gauls worshipped in the

† In Augusto.

\* Arist. de mundo, lib. 1. c. 7.

‖ *Ἄϊα ἡ ἀνὴρ ἔσται.*

‡ Verb. Romanus.

† Lib. 16. c. 44.

oak. Hence he argues, that Esus was the true God, to whom other nations raised altars under the name of *the unknown God*. As Esus was the supreme Deity of the Gauls, so they offered no sacrifices to any other Deity whatsoever but under an oak, to show that he was the end and object of every act of their religion. Tacitus \* has a remarkable passage concerning the *Semnones*, who were of the same religion, viz. 'That none durst enter into the sacred grove, where they performed their worship, without a chain, to express their dependance upon God, and his dominion over them: that if a person chanced to fall, he durst not offer to rise again upon his feet, nor was it lawful for any one to help him up, but he was obliged to roll or crawl out of the grove the best way he could: and that all their mysteries, and their whole religion, was a solemn declaration, that God, who dwelt in the oak, reigned over all things, and that all depended upon him, and obeyed his will'. The Gauls, while their religion continued pure, had no statues or images of any God, but utterly abhorred them. But yet at last in the reign of Tiberius the traders of Paris (*Nautæ Parisiaci*) represented Esus in a human shape, naked down to the middle, in the posture of a gardiner with a hook in his hand pruning a tree; so he appears upon a monument in the Cathedral of Paris, discovered in 1711. Jupiter also began to share, and at last engrossed the worship paid to Esus. In this book, the author gives a particular detail of the Gods of the Gauls, with the figures under which they were represented, and an explication of their symbols and inscriptions. A-

\* De mor. Germ.

among other things there is a curious dissertation upon the God Mythras, or the Sun, and the ceremonies of his worship. He tells us, that upon the first of January the Gauls masked themselves in honour of him, and disguised themselves like women, monsters, and all sorts of beasts, those especially that represented the constellations, which were sacred to this God. We find St. Cesarius \*, in a sermon which he preached on a first of January in the fifth century, exclaiming against this practice: *The Pagans, says he, confound the order of all things; they dress themselves up in brutish shapes, and endeavour to make themselves like the Gods they worship. These wretches, and, which is worse, those who have been regenerated by the sacred waters of baptism, disguise themselves in such monstrous figures, that it is hard to say whether they deserve our laughter or compassion most. For what wise man can believe, that people of good sense should debase themselves so low, as to take the form of brutes? Some cover themselves with the skins of animals, others dress up their heads like that of some beast; and all study to disfigure themselves so, that one would take them for any thing rather than men. Whereby they show that their minds are more brutish than their figures. For though they be very ingenious at representing several sorts of beasts, yet they have more of the brute in the inside than the out. St. Asterius also, Bishop of Apamea, in a discourse he made upon the same occasion, uses these words: That brave, that great general, who was the terror of the enemy, and renowned for his mighty deeds, is now dressed in a flowing robe, that trails upon the ground; and in the habit of a*

\* Ap. Aug. T. 5. Append. Sermon, 129.

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woman, he appears armed with a distaff, spinning with the same right hand wherewith he gained so many victories, and softens his masculine voice to an effeminate squeak. These masks also performed the parts of jugglers, buffoons, and pantomimes or Scaramouches in the streets, as some likewise did stark naked, and with the sex of a woman, which our author cannot tell how they contrived. This appears plainly from two antient statues at Nimes. I mention these particulars the rather, because they have some small relation to our masquerades, which seem not improbably to have derived their original from this antient practice of the Gauls, but so wonderfully improved by that ingenuity and fine taste which the moderns discover in all their pleasures, that from a barbarous and ridiculous piece of heathen superstition, it is become the politest entertainment of the age. I say this to obviate the misrepresentations of those censorious people, who would make the world believe that we have only changed the object of our devotions, and that these nocturnal assemblies are dedicated to the service and honour of Venus.

The third book is spent upon *the explication of the above-mentioned monuments in the Cathedral of Paris, and of the figures of the column found at Cussy.* In the fourth, we have a particular account of *the Gods of the Gauls of the second class.* Among them was *Onuava*, or *Venus Cælestis*; she was represented with a woman's head, and a fish's body. The reason of giving her this figure was, that in the war of the Gods with Typhon she hid herself in a fish \*. Upon

\* *Pisce Venus latuit. Quid. Met. 5. fab. 5.*

this account also it was that the Syrians (by whom she was first of all worshipped) abstained from eating fish, or rather looked upon them as Gods †. They fancied that Venus punished those, who did eat any, with boils and sores; and if they happened to have such break out after eating fish, they endeavoured publickly to expiate their crime, and appease the Goddess: they covered themselves with rags and sackcloth, sat down on a dunghill by the highway-side, or rolled themselves in the mud, in order to obtain their pardon by these penances ‡. Men were forbid to enter her temple. In Babylon, and Cyprus ||, where she was worshipped, the women were indispensibly obliged to prostitute themselves once in their lives to strangers, and to bind themselves by vow not to quit the temple till they were *sanctified*. So that those who were not handsome continued strolling there for three or four years, and sometimes longer, before any body was so charitable as to discharge them. In order to this they went to the temple, having their heads bound about with cords in form of a crown; there they were separated from each other by ropes forming several allies, into which the strangers entered to pick them up; the manner of doing which was this: the stranger threw a piece of money into the woman's lap that he made choice of, saying, *I invoke upon thee the Goddess Mylitta* (the Assyrian name for Venus); she was obliged to follow him, handsome or ugly, into a corner, and there after he had pulled her crown of cords in pieces, to accomplish her vow

† Gic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

‡ Plut. de Superst.

|| Herod. l. i. c. 199. Pauf. in Bæot.

with



with him ; which being done, the retired *holy* and acceptable to Venus. The Author observes from Josephus \*, that the habit of a suppliant among the Syrians was sackcloth, and a crown of cords. The practices of the priests of Venus were still more abominable ; for it was their professed business to be Catamites †. They dressed themselves up like women, they affected an effeminate and languishing voice and mien, and practised all the airs of coquets, to allure men to their embraces.

The Author observes, that serpents were deified and worshipped over the whole world ; by the Phenicians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, &c. The Jews also made a God of Moses's brazen serpent. In Epirus ‡ there was a grove enclosed with a wall, and sacred to Apollo, in which were a great number of serpents, supposed to be descended from the Python killed by him, and a virgin was appointed to attend and feed them. There was such another grove near Lavinium, dedicated to Juno of Argos. Upon certain days they introduced into this grove some young girls blindfolded, with a sort of paste for the serpents, which it is said they would not touch if the girls were not chaste. Every one knows that the Romans, after a terrible plague, sent to fetch the serpent that was adored at Epidaurus ; that he came of his own accord into their ship, and chose his residence in an island of the Tiber, where divine honours were paid to him by the people of Rome, who looked upon him as a God of health. Æ-

\* Antiq. l. 8. c. 8.

† Jul. Firm. err. prof. relig. c. 4.

‡ Ælian. lib. 11. c. 21.

gypt however was always the place where serpents were held in the greatest veneration. They represented God by a serpent or dragon, with a hawk's head, because of the great agility of that bird. Hence possibly we may account for Antiochus being pleased with the surname of a hawk, *ἰεγεῖ* †. Sanchoniathon and Philo of Biblos \* have left us a full account of the origin of the apotheosis of serpents.

The Author also produces some ancient Inscriptions, which by their stile are conjectured to be of the 4th or 5th century, and are sacred to the tutelar Gods, the males of which were called *Sulfi*, and the females *Sulevæ*, *Compestres* and *Silvanae*. The Gauls † held that these female Deities sometimes formed to themselves bodies, and appeared to those men for whom they had an affection, and granted them the last favour, after which they vanished and became invisible ; and 'twas no uncommon thing among the Gauls to boast of their being descended from them. Some think the *Sulfi* and *Sulevæ* were the same ; but others are of opinion that the former were the males, and the same with those called *Dufij*, who were as fond of women as the females were of men. St. Austin || seems to have believed all this so firmly, that he says it is impudence to deny it ; and many more of the Fathers were of the same mind. To these Fairies they erected Chapels in the fields, which were called *Cancelli* ; and

‡ Ælian de animal. 1. 7. c. 45.

\* Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10.

† Burch. Decret. l. 19, c. 5.

|| De Civit. lib. 15. c. 23. n. 1.

thither they used to come with torches, and offerings for the Deity : they sacrificed a sow, and pronounced magical words upon their bread, herbs, and certain knots which they tied, in order to charm them : These things they hid in a tree, or at the meeting of two, three, or more cross-ways, whereby they pretended not only to preserve their own cattle, but to destroy those of their enemies. From hence it would seem that the Gauls were possessed with those whimsical notions of the Cabalists or Rosicrucians, which are exposed in the *Count of Gabalis* †. His *Sylphs* and *Sylphids* are certainly the same with the *Sulfi* and *Sulevæ* of the Gauls, and he talks of them in the same manner as they did ; For, p. 54. a *Sylphid*, says he, *becomes immortal, and capable of the happiness to which we aspire, when she is so fortunate as to get married to a human Sage* : and p. 61. he speaks of the love and gratitude of these invisible mistresses, and with what ardor they strive to please these charitable philosophers who endeavour to immortalize them ; so the Gauls honoured their *Sulevæ* as tutelar Deities, *quæ curam nostram agunt*. Our Author supposes these Deities to be the same with the *Deæ Matres*, *Matræ*, or *Matronæ* of the Romans.

In the 5th Book, which treats of the Funerals, Tombs, Urns, &c. of the Gauls, the Au-

† Published in 1670 by the Abbé de Villars. Some think he took the substance of his book from two Letters written in 1666 from Copenhagen by one Borri, an impudent Alchymist, Mountebank and Heretic, who by his character seems to have been an adept in the occult sciences. See Bayle.

thor gives us a dissertation concerning their funeral Monuments consecrated *sub Ascia*. This expression and the figure of the *Ascia* which is frequently found cut upon the tomb, have puzzled several antiquaries. Some pretend that the word *Ascia* is compounded of an *a* and *scia*, and therefore that *sub Ascia dedicare* signified to erect a monument in the open air. Others suppose that *Ascia* was a sort of an hatchet wherewith ordinary people polished their tombs, which were only of brick; and that this was the practice forbidden by one of the laws of the twelve tables: *Rogum Ascia ne poleito*. Dom Mabillon thinks it signifies an *ax*; and that by the formula *sub Ascia*, we are to understand the pain of death threatened to those who should violate the sepulchre. F. Menetrier imagines that *Ascia* is a mason's trowel, for which he quotes Vitruvius's Architecture, lib. 7. cap. 2. *Macerata calce Ascia dolatur*; and that *sub Ascia dedicavit*, signifies that he who erected the monument took a trowel with mortar upon it, and laid the first stone of the work; a ceremony which is practised to this day in great buildings. But the Author says he mistakes Vitruvius, and that *Ascia* does not signify a trowel. Others again explain *Ascia* to be a hammer, which the Gauls placed upon tombs as a Talisman, to keep them inviolable; and that they used certain formulas of consecration or imprecation upon this hammer, which they held in the air over the monument, conjuring that instrument not to assist in destroying a work which it had helped to raise. The opinion which the Author tells us some French Clergymen of merit and distinction conceived of an *Ascia* which they found cut up-

on

on a stone that covered a leaden coffin, dug up at Ferriol near Besançon, is pleasant enough. Because it somewhat resembled a cross, they took it to be really one, and were upon the point of transporting the reliques of the new-discovered Saint to some sacred place, in order to receive the honours due to them, when the Abbé Boifot arriving, informed them that it was not a cross but an *Afoia*, and that the person who lay under it had been no Saint, but a heathen. After having given these and other opinions about the *Afoia*, the Author proposes his own, and affirms that it is a howe, or sort of pickaxe for digging up the ground, which is to this day called *Affatos*, or *Aissados* in Languedoc. This *Afoia* he pretends was not an instrument of common use, but consecrated and employed only for digging of graves; and that it is the same with what Sidonius Apollinaris \* in a letter to his nephew calls *Rastrum funebre*, wherewith the Gauls digged their graves. He thinks this appears plainly to be the signification of the word from the Latin proverb, *ipse mihi asciam in cras impati*; which is what often happens to those who work with this instrument.

From hence he explains that Law of the XII Tables, *Regum Atria ne poleito*. Those laws, he says, were written when the Romans talked Greek either entirely or in a great measure, as has been observed above; and all the words of this law are purely Greek, and not Latin. *Regas*, says he, is not a funeral pile, but a ditch,

\* Lib. 3. Ep. 12.

or grave, 'Papa's or 'Pasquis : *Ascia* is a hoe or pickaxe, and comes from *ἄσκω* or *ἀσκήω*, to labour, cultivate, work : nor does *poletto* come from the Latin word *polire*, to polish or smooth, but from *πάλω* to till, dig or plow up ; and in this sense the Greeks said *διπλαῖον ἢ τριπλαῖον*, a piece of ground that had been twice and thrice tilled. Upon this footing, this famous law, which has racked the brains of all our Antiquaries to explain it, contained only a prohibition to dig graves with an instrument of iron or copper, such as the *Ascia*. And indeed it was a tradition observed by the remotest antiquity, that no instrument made of these metals should be used in sepulchres †.

This book contains a great many curious observations concerning the funerals of the Gauls, as well as the ancient Franks ; particularly an account of the tomb of K. Childeric, discovered at Tournay in 1653.

I conclude this extract, by doing the Author the justice to own, that considering the remoteness of the times he treats of, and the obscurity that naturally arises from thence, as well as from that maxim of the Druids to commit no part of their Religion to writing, and from the silence of most Authors, and the mistakes and contradictions of others upon this subject, he seems (to me at least) to have handled it very clearly, and in an entertaining manner ; and though he differs in several things from the opinions commonly received among the learned, to have given sufficient proofs of those he advances as his own. It were to be wished that some of

† Etymol. mag. in 'Heion

our own ingenious countrymen would be at the pains to collect all the antiquities relating to the religion of the Druids, which are to be met with in Great Britain and Ireland. Such a work would certainly be very agreeable to all the learned. Mr. Toland had formed a laudable design of this nature, as appears by his letters to the Lord Molesworth, of which and his other works I may probably give an account some time or other, as also of Mr. Rowland's *Mona antiqua restaurata*, I do not know whether I ought to own my taste; but I have a great deal more pleasure in enquiring into the antiquities and curiosities of my own country than of any other, even those of ancient Greece and Rome.



## ARTICLE IX.

*A VINDICATION of the Civil Establishment of Religion: wherein some Positions of Mr. Chandler, the Author of Literal Scheme, &c. and an anonymous Letter on that Subject, are occasionally considered. With an Appendix, containing a Letter from the Reverend Dr. Marshall, and an Answer to the same. By J. Rogers, D. D. Canon of Wells, and Chap.*

Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. London: Printed for W. and J. Innys. 1728.

pag. 400. in 8°. besides a Preface of  
 12.

**T**HE design of this work is to fix the proper and long disputed limits of authority and liberty in matters of religion; in doing which, the Author, to avoid the wranglings incident to personal controversies, has thought fit to proceed rather by direct assertions, and from principles to conclusions, than by refuting the arguments of his adversaries.

I pass the Introduction, though pretty long, because it is wholly employed in complaining of the foul language and ill usage, which the Author says he has met with from some of his opponents. In his first chapter he proposes to prove, *That Religion, or a certain scheme and profession of Religion, may justly be established by civil power*; and on this all the rest of his Plan depends. It must be observed, that by Religion he here means, not the internal principle, but the outward acts of it which are apparent to men, as professions of faith, modes of worship, &c. and in this sense only he affirms it to be a proper subject of human laws. He deduces his proposition from these two principles: 1. *That the nature and ends of civil society require the establishment of some Religion.* 2. *That there is nothing in the nature of Religion inconsistent with such establishment.* The sum of his reasoning upon the first of these points is: That internal Religion, *v. e.* the belief, reverence, and love of an infinitely just, powerful, and omniscient Being,



ing, is a principle the most effectual to promote and secure the ends of civil society; therefore it becomes a proper care of civil authority to cultivate this principle; which can be done no other way than by provisions for education and instruction, &c. and by directing and encouraging such outward actions, as are presumptive evidences of this inward principle. For, says he, all human laws will refer to some particular actions, and consequently in this case must point out some particular system of outward religious actions, declarations of belief, modes of worship, &c. as *the only presumptive evidences of internal piety*; and whatever system of this kind is thus pointed out and encouraged by law, is the established Religion of that community. And in answer to all the authorities of private writers that favour the contrary opinion, the Doctor observes that his argument is supported by universal fact; and approved by all legislators or governments that are or have been in the world. So much for Deists. But with Christians our Author argues, that the civil establishment of Religion by *human* authority cannot be in itself a moral evil, because there was such an establishment among the Jews appointed by *divine* authority. As to the second point, it is objected, "That Religion is an internal principle, not subject to human inspection; that every man must believe according to his own convictions; that no civil authority can make him do otherwise, or satisfy him that an action is agreeable to the divine Will, which in his own judgment appears contrary to it; that human reason in these acts is subject to God only, and that this submission is every man's Religion; and therefore that Religion is ex-

" empty

“empt from civil authority, and incapable of  
 “being directed or prescribed by a civil esta-  
 “blishment”. The Doctor owns all the pre-  
 mises, but denies the conclusions. 1. All mo-  
 ral virtues, says he, as acts, habits, and dispo-  
 sitions of the mind, are no more subject to hu-  
 man authority than the internal acts of Religi-  
 on. Nevertheless the outward actions, which  
 are presumptive evidences of such inward dispo-  
 sitions, fall properly under human laws. 2. It  
 may be urged, “That if a magistrate be al-  
 “lowed to direct by what outward actions I  
 “shall evidence my Religion, a power will here-  
 “by be given him of requiring actions from me  
 “contrary to the convictions of my conscience.  
 But, says the Doctor, a right in the magistrate  
 to prescribe such or such actions as conditions of  
 his favour, does not imply a right to force an  
 active compliance with such prescriptions. There  
 is also a wide difference between being compel-  
 led to act according to the magistrate’s persua-  
 sions, and being restrained from acting according  
 to one’s own. Besides, the same case may hap-  
 pen in moral virtues. A magistrate may require  
 me to evidence my justice by an action I think  
 unjust; and if this argument will exclude him  
 from all direction in one case, it will equally  
 exclude him in the other. As to the distincti-  
 on, that Religion is merely a personal matter,  
 but that the law of nature deeply affects society,  
 the Doctor observes that every man has the same  
 liberty of collecting his law of nature as his Re-  
 ligion from his own reason; that thus collected  
 they are both personal matters, and he is alone  
 and personally accountable to God for both.  
 But when he proceeds to act upon the principles  
 he has thus collected, both his law of nature  
 and

and his Religion become social matters ; and if the magistrate has to do with every man's law of nature, *as it concerns the peace of society*, he has just as much to do with his Religion.

The second chapter is divided into nine sections ; in the first of which the Author enquires, *On whose judgment the choice of the Religion to be established depends ; upon what motives, consultation and advice that question may reasonably be determined.* Now, says he, though religious considerations may be among the motives to an establishment of some religion, yet as the act it self is purely civil, it must be determined by the judgment of the supreme civil magistrate ; whose resolutions can arise only from the convictions of his own conscience, and the conclusions of his own wisdom, formed upon such lights as are before him, with such information and advice as he may reasonably take with him. He may also repeal an establishment whenever he sees reason so to do. But if no scruples arise in his own mind, he is not obliged to seek for them ; and if any impertinent disputant will be offering them to him, he has the same reason to refuse to hear him, as he had to be satisfied at first.

Religion, says he, is that system of doctrines, worship and administrations, in the profession and use of which a religious society combines ; together with the orders of polity and distinction of offices obtaining in it. These are the outward acts of it, which alone are capable of being the subject of human laws ; and being the subject of those rules, which are the terms of union in that society, the civil establishment of that Religion can imply nothing else, but adding civil sanctions to the rules of that society,

ciety, and so making them also laws of the community. In the third section, he enquires *what civil rewards and encouragements may reasonably and justly be annexed to an established Religion.* The Magistrate, says he, being supposed to be convinced of the truth of a certain system of Religion, and that its worship is acceptable to God, and its doctrines and discipline conducive to the peace, virtue and interests of the community, he may reasonably esteem it his duty to support the administrations of it, and to recommend it to his subjects, by appointing persons properly qualified to instruct them in it, to persuade their conversion to it, and to officiate in the ordinances of it to as many as shall be converted, with proper encouragements of honour and support. And if he thinks his fellow-worshippers better qualified for his service, and that their principles give him greater security in their fidelity, than in other men's, he may reasonably distinguish them by such marks of favour and confidence, as by the constitution are left in his discretionary disposal. For the Magistrate cannot be denied the same liberty of placing his favours, and chusing his servants, that any private man claims. By the Magistrate, the Author always means the supreme civil Legislature; in virtue of which character, whatever favours he confers, he may also confirm by law, and then they become a legal property; and the civil Power is therefore obliged to maintain them, especially if bound by solemn oath so to do. Nor can it be an offence against charity, or any moral rule of human conduct, for the persons entitled to such right, to call for the aid of civil Power, and the execution of the

the law in defence of them whenever they are invaded. In the fourth section he examines *what penalties and discouragements civil power may justly annex to the laws establishing any scheme of Religion.* Those who do not comply with such laws may justly be excluded from the favours, which the magistrate has a right to bestow at discretion. The Author observes farther, that if the magistrate may limit his service, or his favour, to the profession of a particular Religion, then he may require such profession as a qualification for his service; and if there be any other Religion from whence he apprehends danger to the publick, or infidelity to himself, he may for the same reasons insist upon sufficient evidences that the person proposed is not of that Religion. Now joining in the worship, and partaking in the ordinances of a Religion, is the surest proof that a person is really of that Religion; and that he is not of any other. This is no more than what any private subject may do, and therefore cannot be denied the supreme magistrate. Upon these principles our Author takes occasion to justify the imposing of Tests, as a qualification for publick offices.

It is objected, 1. That 'tis a profanation of so solemn an act of Christian Religion as receiving the Eucharist, to make it a condition of civil favour. The Doctor answers, That if being of the established Church may be required as a condition, he cannot imagine what profaneness it is, for one who is so, to testify it by any act of his Religion. If he receives unworthily, that is not the magistrate's fault, but his own; for his Religion requires him to be always prepared. Besides, the command of the magistrate in this

case is not absolute, but conditional. 2. However, it puts men under great temptation to be hypocrites. But, says the Doctor, does the law make them hypocrites? Both these objections lye with equal force against the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. 3. An ordinance instituted as a pledge of love, is hereby turned into a distinction of parties, an instrument of strife, and an occasion of hatred and animosities. But, says the Doctor, Christ intended this ordinance as much to be a distinction of his disciples from other men, as a pledge of union among themselves; and in both these intentions it is required in the present case. In short, says he, if the magistrate may justly limit his favour to men of any particular character, he may justly require any actions in evidence of that character, which that character is reasonably supposed to qualify and oblige men to perform. Negative penalties therefore may justly be affixed to a bare in-compliance with an established Religion.

In the fifth section he enquires, *what penalties may be affixed to an active opposition of the laws of an establishment.* Such laws may be opposed, 1. By open profaneness and blasphemy. 2. By publicly professing, teaching, and exercising some other Religion. 3. By publicly disputing the truth of that Religion, the lawfulness of its worship, &c. 4. By publicly denying the right of the magistrate to establish that or any Religion, or the expediency of the present establishment. So far as any of these actions may endanger the peace, virtue, and interests of the society, they are and must be cognizable by the civil magistrate, and may be restrained by positive penalties proportionable to the danger threatened by them. But the

the last mentioned act, he says, is mutiny and sedition: it is denying to the magistrate a right of the utmost importance to the happiness of society; and publicly persuading men not to own or submit to this right, is persuading them to oppose, and take from him a just and necessary branch of his supremacy. And if this be not sedition, says the Doctor, I know not what is. In the sixth section he considers, *how far such acts of opposition to an establishment are protected from the censure and restraint of the magistrate by the plea of conscience.* And first he examines, whether such a plea can exempt these actions from the censure of the magistrate; and concludes that all actions that endanger the peace, virtue, or order of the community, or break in upon the rights of the magistrate or subject, may be justly restrained and punished, whatever plea of conscience be offered for them. 2. He enquires, upon what reasonable ground or principle any man can think himself obliged in conscience to any of these acts of opposition to an established Religion. He observes, that nothing can be a rule of conscience but some law of God, real or supposed, natural or revealed: that a plain law of God, and the nature of society, requires us not to oppose the laws of our superiors, when we can omit it without disobeying God: that therefore before conscience can oblige a man actively and publicly to oppose a law, it must not only appear to him very plainly that the law ought so to be opposed, but that it is a duty of his station to oppose it. In section the seventh he considers, *Whether there be any general obligation on conscience, thus actively to oppose an established Religion;* and concludes in the negative. He observes, that humanity or charity

cannot be pleaded as a justification of such opposition by those, who lay it down as a fundamental principle, That every man is safe and secure of God's approbation, who believes and worships according to the full persuasion of his own mind. And if it be said, that Christianity requires its disciples to correct the errors of their brethren; the Doctor answers, that the pastors of the flock, but not private Christians, are obliged to do this; nor are even the former bound publickly to labour the conversion of those without the Church, unless they have a special mission to that service. However, at last the Author says, that tho' he cannot perceive any general principles of morality or religion, that can oblige a private man publickly to oppose whatever he thinks erroneous in an establishment; yet he can easily imagine that some principles of either may be so mistaken, that he may apprehend himself obliged to oppose either the whole, or some part of a particular establishment. In the eighth section he considers, *what special obligations any man may have publickly to oppose an established Religion; and how far the magistrate is bound to regard that plea:* and tho' he denies any general obligation, yet he owns there may be cases of special obligation so to do. As, 1. God may by a special call command it to be done; but then the magistrate is not to regard such a mission, unless the evidences of it appear to him. Both the person so sent, and the magistrate must act according to the convictions of their own consciences, though they should be directly contrary. This rule he applies to the case of Christ and his Apostles, whom he justifies by it; but condemns the Jewish rulers, because they would not be convinced when sufficient evidence lay before



before them; and this was their great crime, as Christ tells them: *If he had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin.* 2. Another special obligation may be a mission from those who have received authority from God to send others on such a service. The Author conceives every Christian Church to have authority to send its members on such special missions; and on this principle justifies the missionaries to the Indians, whether their magistrates approve the mission or not. He allows however, that they are not to regard the plea of mission, till they are satisfied of the authority of those who send them. 3. A third special obligation is when any person who has a share in the Legislature, thinks the established Religion false, or the terms of the establishment unjust. But then this obligation affects him only in his publick character and station: as a private man, he is to be quiet, and to do his own business.

In the ninth section, *some objections to the preceding propositions are considered.* The first is, That by leaving the choice of what Religion shall be established entirely to the magistrate, all established Religions, false as well as true, are put on the same foot. This the Author owns, and perceives no absurdity or inconvenience to his argument from it. For, says he, the establishment of any Religion is purely an act of civil power, and the determination of that act must be left where the nature of society lodges that power; and the supreme magistrate must therein act according to the convictions of his own conscience, whether he be mistaken or not. 2. If a false Religion happens to be established, must it always continue so? It must, says the Doctor, till the Legislature is convinced it is so.

3. If no body be permitted publickly to oppose it, how shall the magistrate be convinced of his error? He answers, Just the same way as any other man is convinced : he has the same liberty to examine, and may be supposed as capable of forming a true judgment ; and when once he is fully satisfied, there can be no reason to permit public disputes for his further information. At this rate, says our Author, he will never be able to come to any resolution at all. But it is further objected, That his people may want information, though he does not ; and it is but reasonable he should permit such a liberty of inquiry as is necessary to their satisfaction. Very reasonable, no doubt, says the Doctor : But then must he permit any one to make it his business to fill their minds with as many doubts or scruples as he can ? 4. But how then shall we vindicate the Reformers ? The Doctor answers, 1. Examples, where the principles and rules they acted under do not appear, are a very imperfect proof of right or duty. 2. The objection does not affect our Reformation, which was introduced entirely by the civil authority. 3. The present cause of the Reformation, here or any where else, does not depend on the regularity or irregularity of the methods by which it was introduced. The question is now, whether we are in possession of truth ; and not how we came by it. I must own, I think this objection would admit of a much better answer from a Protestant. He adds indeed, that they were sometimes called upon by Authority to give a public account of their faith ; Princes sometimes sent for them, to hear their doctrines, and allowed them to

to teach them publickly : They might have, or be persuaded they had an immediate call from God. But still I doubt, with Dr. Marshal †, that *he has left them too defenceless and naked.*

5. Liberty of disputation is the proper means to find truth. But, says the Doctor, will it follow that 'tis the duty of the Church or State to promote heresies all they can, because St. Paul says, *There must be heresies, that they who are approved may be made manifest ?* For the argument is just of the same size with this. 6. Unless this liberty be allowed, learning will decay, and the *Literati* grow idle. The Doctor answers, 1. This is not a necessary consequence, as we see by the example of France. 2. The consequence would be more to be feared, if all men were to be employed in disputes about Religion. 3. It must first be defined what Learning is. True Learning would not suffer by it ; and better it should, than that scepticism, irreligion and profaneness be advanced. The last objection is, That without this liberty, zeal without knowledge, bigotry and superstition will prevail, instead of rational Religion. To this the Doctor answers, That an absolute exclusion from all means or liberty of inquiry will indeed increase them ; but that an unbounded liberty of disputing every thing, will probably raise more superstitions than it will cure ; besides that it will encourage libertinism. But as a general answer to all these objections, he says the Magistrate must consider what effects such a liberty may probably have on publick peace, and protect himself and his people from whatever seems to endanger that.

† Lett. in the Append.

The third chapter treats of *the effects and obligations of a civil establishment of Religion*. It is divided into four sections ; in the first of which he tells us that *the establishment of Religion is not offered as a proof of its truth, and enquires how far human authority is a reasonable ground of assent in questions of Religion*. He observes, that to assert the determinations of the Magistrate to be the ultimate rule and measure of truth in Religion or Morality, the proper ground of an assent of judgment, to which all evidences and convictions of private reason ought to be submitted, is *Hobbesism* : and to assert this of the determinations of the Church, Clergy, any Bishop or Council, or any other dernier resort of ecclesiastical authority, is *Papery* ; and he disclaims both these absurdities, and appeals to the civil Power, not for the conviction, but the correction of those who oppose the established Religion. As to the second point, he says, the greater number of mankind must absolutely and necessarily depend upon the authority of others for the truth of many positions of great importance to them, and even of some of their most fundamental conclusions in Religion. In such cases, and to such persons, authority is reason ; and to tell such that they must examine the grounds of their Religion by their own single strength, without trusting to the knowledge or honesty of any guide, is just as absurd as to persuade a man that would go from Dover to Calais, not to enter into a ship, or commit himself to a pilot, upon suggestions that these ships and crews with their officers are all human inventions to get a livelihood ; that the pilot is fallible, and may

' may mistake his way, or abuse his confidence, ' carry him where he pleases, and sell him for a ' slave ; That he has a natural faculty of swimming, which he had better trust to, and not be ' beholden to any body'. However the Author adds, that neither to the least nor to the greatest, neither to himself nor his superiors, neither to the single nor united judgment of any Clergy, does he submit even the meanest Christian's convictions of truth. And as to the authority of the Magistrate, we are bound to obey his laws as a ruler, not to assent to his judgment as a teacher ; which, says he, are two very different characters, tho' often confounded. In the second section he pursues his *reflections on the effects and obligations of a civil Establishment of Religion* ; and shows that by a civil Establishment a christian Church and a civil Society do not become the same thing, though they are incorporated together, and the laws of the Church made a part of the laws of a community. In the third section he justifies the censure he formerly passed on some passages of the *Literal Scheme considered* ; and thinks the Author of it is guilty of as great a crime and misdemeanor at least as Dr. Sacheverel was. The one attacked the Toleration, the other attacks the Christian Religion, both established by law, as unreasonable and unwarrantable. He also puts him in mind of the laws against blasphemy, under the lash of which he falls, by suggesting that Jesus Christ was an Impostor. In the fourth section he examines *what probable effects an attempt to execute that scheme of liberty would produce*. 1. Says he, The proposition itself is an affront to our Legislators, and supposes them all Deists, or at least enemies to the present

present Establishment. 2. Supposing the present Establishment repealed, and no other substituted, the scheme could not succeed in its full effects, unless the civil Power should go further, and prohibit all religious associations ; and even then it is natural to suppose that each of these societies would endeavour to get their own Religion established, whence would arise emulation, strife, confusion, and every evil work. 3. Should the scheme be admitted in its full extent, and the whole nation become Deists, yet how should we secure the continuance of this state? The people and the Magistrate may be again converted to some Religion or other, and establish it. But he thinks this scheme particularly calculated for the service of Popery, and from the effects it has already had, seems to doubt whether the Author be not really in the interests of Rome, notwithstanding all his pretences.

Having thus, I think, given a full view of the Author's scheme of an Establishment, and his arguments for it, wherein I have kept as near as possible to his own words, I need not say any thing of the *Appendix*, which relates chiefly to the Doctor's eight Sermons, and the affair of miracles.

ART I.



## ARTICLE X.

*A DEFENCE of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English ORDINATIONS, against the several Answers made to it : with proper Vouchers for the Facts advanced in that Work. By the Author of the Dissertation. London : printed for W. and J. Innys. 1728. In two Volumes 8vo. Pages in Vol. I. 536. in Vol. II. 584.*

**A**S the dispute concerning the Validity of the English Ordinations has of late made no small noise in the world, I thought it would not be disagreeable to my Readers to see the points upon which that controversy turns justly stated. For this purpose, I resolved to present them with an Extract of the learned F. Le Courayer's judicious Defence of his Dissertation on that subject ; and having met with it very well done to my hand in a French pamphlet, I rather chose to translate that, than make one of my own.

This work is divided into two parts ; in the first of which F. Courayer discusses the question  
of

of *fact*, and in the second the question of *right*. I shall at present give the extract of the former only, which is the same that was published in the *Journal des Sçavans* for March last. The extract of the second (which I reserve for the next month) was actually printed in the same Journal for April, but was suppressed for some particular reasons, not hard to be guessed at, though it contains only an impartial and fair account of the work, without any commendation either of the author or his performance. This circumstance will not probably render it less curious. I add, with the Publisher of the abovementioned pamphlet, *that these two Extracts, though very short, will perhaps give the Reader a clearer view of the true point in dispute, than he could obtain from tedious disputes and numerous volumes, which often tend more to puzzle the cause, than illustrate the truth.*

The Author begins with a general account of the several Answers that were made to his Dissertation; viz. 1. A pamphlet by Dom Gervaise, ancient Abbot of La Trappe. 2. Two books by the learned F. Hardouin. 3. F. Le Quien's two volumes. 4. Mr. Fennel's book. 5. A pamphlet written by a Benedictin. F. Le Courayer, in giving a view of all these performances, characterizes each of them in a very ingenious manner, and paints them out in different, and lively colours. F. Le Q. however is the principal object of his attention; he turns his arms ofteneft against him, and if at any time he parries the attacks made upon him by the rest, he seems to do it as it were incidentally. Nevertheless he neglects none of his adversaries, but answers every objection of any importance



portance that is made against him. " I think  
 " myself obliged, says he, to follow F. Har-  
 " douin through all his ramblings, because the  
 " publick not having it in their power to ex-  
 " amine the truth of the facts, might fancy, if  
 " I took no notice of them, that such an omis-  
 " sion proceeded from my inability to answer  
 " them, and not from the contempt which the  
 " difficulties he has started deserve. 'Tis a de-  
 " ference I pay to his reputation, and which I  
 " would not have paid to his arguments. As  
 " to the question of *Right*, I shall observe ano-  
 " ther method ; for as I do not write a treatise  
 " of the sacraments, I shall content myself to  
 " expose his extravagant whims, without con-  
 " futing them. He must have very little skill  
 " in divinity indeed, who is not capable of do-  
 " ing that himself, and I write only for those  
 " who have some share of knowledge.

F. Le Courayer therefore confining himself to  
 what immediately and directly concerns the que-  
 stion before him, applies himself to the princi-  
 pal points of it, which he very methodically  
 makes the subject of so many books. After ha-  
 ving proved from general arguments the moral  
 impossibility of forging and corrupting an infi-  
 nite number of records, and having examined  
 the several facts, upon which this pretended for-  
 gery and alteration is built by the principles of  
 the boldest Pyrrhonism, he shows in another  
 book, that the story of Parker's being ordained  
 at the Nag's-head tavern in Cheapside is false  
 and groundless in every particular. He after-  
 wards proves, that his ordination at Lambeth is  
 as authentick and notorious as it is possible for  
 an historical fact to be. He examines, one by  
 one, all the criticisms that have been made on  
 the

the acts produced in the dissertation; he supports those acts with new proofs, and allowing to each objection, which appears considerable enough to influence the judgment of the publick, a chapter by itself, he discusses them all as minutely and particularly as they deserve, in order to leave no obscurity upon any of those points. From Parker he passes to Barlow, and after vindicating himself from the charge of falsification brought against him by F. Hardouin, and having proved Barlow's being a Bishop by several acts, he thence concludes that he was really consecrated, and was consequently qualified to consecrate Parker. This is nearly the subject of the two first volumes: But a more particular account of the work will be more agreeable and instructive to the reader.

I. Then, F. Le Quien represents, that he is not the first among the Catholicks, who has judged the English Ordinations to be valid; and therefore that he was guilty of no rashness in publishing and endeavouring to prove his opinion. F. Le Quien owns that he himself was formerly of the same mind, and that guided by the instructions of the Abbot de Longuerue, he judged favourably of those Ordinations which he has since attacked. Was he the less orthodox then upon this account? Several celebrated catholick divines, such as Cudsemius, Valesius, Davenport, the Doctors of the Sorbonne, when consulted about reordaining M. Goult a converted English Priest, M. Arnauld (whose opinion however relates rather to the question of *Fact*, than that of *Right*) M. Snellaerts, the celebrated Doctor of Louvains, and Professor of History, and lastly the illustrious M. Bossuet; these

these are the Divines whose steps F. Le Cou-  
 rayer pretends he has followed. If to the Au-  
 thor's opinion the practice of Rome should be  
 objected, where the English Priests that return  
 to the Catholick Church are constantly reordain-  
 ed, that, he says, is a very wise precaution, and  
 a prudent method, in a country where *the igno-  
 rance of facts, and the prejudice of the Nag's-  
 head fable prevail*, (according to M. Fontanini)  
 and render the validity of the English Ordina-  
 tions doubtful. Cardinal Casanata's letter to  
 M. de Castorie shows, that Rome would be glad  
 to be better informed; but in the mean time  
 she does well to continue the practice of re-  
 ordaining English Priests. Thus does our Au-  
 thor vindicate himself while he justifies the  
 Church of Rome. Now let us see how he ex-  
 presses himself concerning his having stood up  
 in defence of the English Ordinations, the Va-  
 lidity or Nullity of which many people look  
 upon to be a matter of small importance to the  
 Catholick Church.

" 'Tis only out of blind zeal, says he, that  
 " I am censured for endeavouring to clear up a  
 " fact, which may open a way to peace and re-  
 " union. Who knows but God, in compassion  
 " for the evils and divisions of his Church, may  
 " remove that spirit of contention and obstina-  
 " cy, which reigns over all parties; that after  
 " so many wars and disputes, we may at last  
 " taste the pleasure of being reunited in the  
 " same faith, though we cannot always agree  
 " in the same opinions? There are a great ma-  
 " ny points upon which it was ever lawful to  
 " differ, without offending against union and  
 " charity. Let us leave disputes about obscure  
 " matters to the schools——The spirit of Chri-  
 " stianity

“ ftianity is a fpirit of peace, and thofe who labour, though in vain, to procure it, are nevertheless to be commended for the attempt.

Would the Catholick Church own the validity of the Englifh Ordinations, there would be one obftacle to the reunion of the Englifh removed: befides, it might incline them to think more favourably of us, and would bring them the nearer to the Church of Rome, the farther it removed them from the Presbyterians, who are inveterate enemies to it.

II. F. Le Courayer represents the various and ridiculous methods that have been made ufe of to invalidate the Englifh Ordinations; and obferves, 1. That it is furprifing, if the facts now objected to Parker’s Consecration be true, that for the fpace of 40 years and more, fuch decisive arguments were neglected, as the Nag’s-head ftory, and Barlow’s Non-consecration; and fuch general loofe ones taken up by the firft controverfifts, as proved a great deal lefs than thofe. Thefe two points muft have been better known and more certain then, than they could be fince that time; they ought therefore to have been made ufe of then; and yet the firft time that the ftory of Parker’s Ordination in a tavern appeared was in a work of the Jefuit Holywood, or Sacro-Bofco, in 1604; that is above 45 years after it is pretended to have happened. As to Barlow, his Consecration was never contefted till more than 50 years after his death. 2. Harding and the reft never attacked Parker’s Ordination in particular, but that of all the Englifh Bifhops in general, becaufe of the defectivenefs of the rite, and of their miffion. Neither Harding nor Stapleton fay one word of the farce of the

the Nag's-head Ordination: What did they mean by such silence? 3. The first writers in this controversy all along confounded unlawful ordination with want of ordination. 4. The only method, according to our Author, of attacking his opinion, was to oppose several express and authentic acts to that great number which he has produced, and to search the registers from which he took them; which he assures us were offered to be communicated to F. Le Quien, that he was invited to go into England, and that he was promised that any one should be allowed to examine them whom he should commission for that purpose. All these proposals, says he, were to no purpose. It was thought better to see nothing at all, than to part with any handle for contention or doubt. 5. The weak objections that are raised, are indeed numerous, but without any connection. They have no greater force put all together, than each of them singly; whereas if they all related immediately to one particular fact, they would have the weight of several united probabilities, which in some cases is equivalent to a demonstration. For several different circumstances must, in order to form a proof, lead to the discovery of one and the same fact. Here, on the contrary, the doubts that are raised relate to quite different facts; nay, often to such as are quite opposite and contradictory to one another. 6. The Authors who have attacked F. Le Courayer, according to him, contradict each other. The one admits a thing, which the other contests; nor do they agree even in their principles. According to F. Le Quien, F. Hardonin never understood the true state of

the question ; according to F. Hardouin, F. Le Quien has quite mistaken it, &c.

III. From these preliminary reflexions, the Author proceeds to general proofs of the genuineness of the acts he had produced, which are suspected of forgery, and argues against such a suspicion in this manner. 1. It is objected that those acts are produced by hereticks : but, says he, if the difference of party alone be a sufficient reason for rejecting such acts as are found in publick records, it is needless to pretend to clear up any historical fact. While we reject those produced by the Protestants, we authorize them to reject ours. 2. There are no registers more authentick than those of the Bishops of England ; they are committed to the care of a publick and sworn officer ; their authority is owned in all the courts of the kingdom ; 'tis a publick repository, which fixes the state and condition of the Clergy ; Ordinations, nominations to benefices, the dates of provisions, are all exactly registred in them ; they are always written in the lifetime of the bishops whose names they bear. The fidelity of these records is attested by the royal Archives, and an hundred other publick monuments relating to them. 3. The mistakes that are found in names and dates, have crept in through the ignorance or inattention of the registrar ; no records are exempt from inaccuracies of this kind ; and if the error of a clerk, a trifling mistake, may destroy the authority of a whole register, there is none in the world that can be depended upon. 4. If the Episcopal registers of England are supposititious, when did this forgery begin ? For they

they are much older than the Reformation ; those of Canterbury, for instance, go as high as Archbishop Peckham in the 13th century. Are these registers altogether spurious, or only in part ? Who was the impostor ? I fancy, says F. Le Courayer very pleasantly, that F. Hardouin has got his name down in his pocket-book, just by that of him who forged so many ancient Authors, even as the contract of marriage made by the Venetians with the Sea was written on the back of Constantine's donation. 5. If Parker's and Cranmer's registers be spurious, as F. Hardouin affirms they are, all those of the other churches in England (to which they relate.) are so too, as well as the royal Archives. 6 The bishops, whom F. Hardouin degrades, and deprives of their episcopacy, sat as bishops in several sessions of parliament : if that be false, then the registers of those august assemblies, in which the interests of the nation and sometimes of all Europe are regulated, must be all forged. 7. For the same reason, all leases, exchanges, alienations, collations of benefices, dispositions of wills, in one word, whatever is contained in these registers, must be all mere imaginations, if as F. Hardouin tells us, *Parker's register and all that it contains be false.* To these arguments F. Le Courayer adds thirteen others of very great weight ; which I must omit, because I cannot take in all.

IV. After having shown that the false citations of some English divines do not weaken the authority of the registers, (because it would be absurd to call in question the genuineness of an act, on account of its being mangled in the *Gallia Christiana*, or Morery's Dictionary) and that

these registers have not been forged since 1600, as F. Hardouin affirms, and F. Le Quien insinuates, (seeing there is mention made of them in the book *de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, which was printed in 1572) the Author proceeds in the second book to examine thoroughly the ridiculous fable of the Nagg's-head. He begins with proving that there was at that time no want of consecrated bishops to ordain Parker; and that if Barlow had not been owned as uncontestably such, he would never have been pitched upon to perform that function.

If F. Le Quien's reasoning upon this point be just, the story of the Nagg's-head is sapped to the very foundation. According to him, it was impossible that Parker and the rest should attempt to elude consecration, "to suppose that  
 " at a time when the laws allow none to enter into the dignities of the Church, but  
 " upon condition of being consecrated, and  
 " punish those who refuse to assist in that function, when required to do it by the Prince,  
 " every body should unanimously agree to elude the law, and that every one should be so  
 " dextrous, or so lucky, as to conceal from the Prince, the people, the clergy, and his own  
 " brethren, the most solemn action of the world, at which several persons must assist,  
 " and which must be solemnly attested by several and to several persons, is so ridiculous  
 " and so extravagant an imagination, that it is  
 " surprizing any one should think to impose  
 " such whims upon the world, &c.

But the Author prevents F. Hardouin in making his excuse for entertaining this notion, as believing it more favourable to the interests of the Catholic Religion; and this he does by virtue



tue of an edifying declaration of that father's in the *Memoires Literaries*. Every body (says F. Hardouin) looks upon me as one of a different species from others, and whose notions are all out of the way. But the truth of the matter is, that I depart from the common opinions about facts, only because I adhere firmly to them with regard to the manner in which the doctrines of the Church are to be understood, and to every thing that may favour them. Avoid me therefore, I forgive you, when you see me do any thing to their prejudice. And this is what made me first mistrust all the antient books, &c.

I cannot follow F. Le Courayer through all the arguments he opposes to the story of the comical Ordination at the Nag's-head, and thro' all his answers to the objections of F. Hardouin, and F. Le Quien; such a detail is not capable of an extract; I shall only observe, that these two Authors having endeavoured to render the fact possible, and even probable, by saying that Parker's Consecration was performed in a tavern in Cheapside, which is in the midst of London, to prevent the scandal and tumult which it might have occasioned, if it had been performed in the palace at Lambeth, which is without the city, and parted from it by the Thames; F. Le Courayer answers, that it would be every whit as rational to suppose that the Archbishop of Paris, in order to conceal an Ordination which he had a mind to keep secret, should chuse to confer it in Procope's Coffee-house, rather than in his Chapel at Conflans. 'Tis to no purpose, according to our Author; that they have metamorphosed the Nag's-head into a fine (*Hotel garni*) great house ready furnished, and provided with a chapel, because of these words of Kellison, which are no-

thing but a mere irony, *a fit Church for such a Consecration!* The Author makes himself very merry here with this Chapel, built with so small trouble and charge by one of his adversaries.

We find in this book a very agreeable and circumstantial parallel between the fable of the Nag's-head and that of Pope Joan, which was refused, as every one knows, by Blondel a famous Protestant Writer. It concludes with an examination of the Lord Audley's testimony, which is a very curious piece, and is handled according to the true rules of good criticism.

V. The Author, having in the first book proposed a great number of general proofs and principles in favour of the genuineness of those acts which attest the Ordination of Parker and Barlow, in the third book he confirms the certainty of the Ordination at Lambeth, as well as that of Barlow and Scory, by particular and positive proofs, and by several monuments very well worth our notice, and refutes all the objections made against them. He shows first, that the Ordination at Lambeth has all the authority for it, which any historical fact can have; and this he founds upon a great number of facts and records, which might no doubt have saved his censors a great deal of trouble if they had known them, as well as all that he produces in this defence touching the question of fact. We may say, that 'tis to their several objections that we are indebted for the publication of so many curious monuments, so many authentick pieces, and so many positive and evident proofs of the solemn Ordination of Parker, and of Barlow's Consecration. F. Hardouin lays it down as certain, that Parker's register was forged since the  
year

year 1600, and that it was never mentioned by any body before that time. 'Twas to no purpose that F. Le Courayer had quoted the book, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, printed in 1572, which speaks of this register. That edition, if you'll believe F. Hardouin, never had a being. But F. Le Courayer shews here that it does really exist, names the libraries in which it is to be found in England, quotes the critic upon it that was printed in 1574, and is now in the Comte de Seignelay's library at Paris, and shows that Cujace, who died in 1590, spoke of it, and that Fr. Thynne and the famous Cambden made mention of it in their works printed in 1586. This is what F. Le Courayer opposes to F. Hardouin's argument, who positively affirms that this edition never existed, *because he never saw it*. Much in the same manner does the Author answer a great many other objections made by F. H. F. Le Q. and M. Fennel to the reality of Parker's Ordination.

VI. Nor is he worse provided with positive proofs and arguments with regard to the Consecration of Will. Barlow, who consecrated Parker. Though F. Hardouin is the only person who, notwithstanding the authority of a great number of acts and monuments, and the testimony of Gardiner a Catholick Bishop, denies him to have been Bishop of St. David's from 1536 to 1548, yet he is not alone in denying that he was really consecrated. F. Le Q. and M. Fennel agree with F. H. in this last point. Therefore, after having invincibly demonstrated that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's from 1536 to 1548, and having accounted for the T. instead of the W. (which is manifestly the

Clerk's fault) F. Le Courayer proves that he was not only a Bishop in appearance, but had been really consecrated. Of all the proofs of this which he adduces, I shall mention this one.

“ Towards the end of 1536, Barlow went to  
 “ his Church. In those days Bishops preached,  
 “ as they generally do in England even  
 “ now. Barlow discharged this part of his office  
 “ like the rest: happy, if his doctrine had been  
 “ as agreeable to truth, as the exercise of this  
 “ function was to his duty. He taught several  
 “ errors. The ears of the audience, says a fa-  
 “ ther, are sometimes more orthodox than the  
 “ tongue of their pastors. The people mur-  
 “ mured at this, and one of the clergy belong-  
 “ ing to his Church presented four propositions  
 “ extracted out of his sermon to the Bishop of  
 “ Coventry, President of the Marches of Wales.  
 “ One of these propositions was, *That if the*  
 “ *King, as supreme head of the Church of Eng-*  
 “ *land, nominated and elected any learned Laic to*  
 “ *be a Bishop, that person so chosen would be as*  
 “ *much a Bishop, without receiving any Ordina-*  
 “ *tion, as he himself, or the best in England.* The  
 “ proposition is very false, and worthy of cen-  
 “ sure: however that is not the question; but  
 “ whether this be not a proof of Barlow's Con-  
 “ secration. For if Barlow was not ordained a  
 “ Bishop, what sense can be assigned to this  
 “ proposition? He might as well have said, that  
 “ a Bishop nominated by the King would, with-  
 “ out Ordination, be as lawful a Bishop as him-  
 “ self, who had never received any. Is not  
 “ the absurdity of such a proposition palpably  
 “ evident?

To this proof the Author adds another, which I cannot pass by. “ I suppose, says he,  
 “ that

“ that Barlow had some sense : it cannot be  
 “ doubted but he had, and yet he is made to act  
 “ like a fool. In 1536 he is made Bishop, and  
 “ accepts the Bishopric ; but when he comes to  
 “ receive Ordination, this man, who is suppo-  
 “ sed to have so little conscience, as to raise  
 “ himself to that dignity at the expence of his  
 “ faith and his honour, all of a sudden becomes  
 “ so scrupulous as to refuse being ordained, be-  
 “ cause he is a Presbyterian in his heart. At  
 “ the same time he omits nothing to persuade  
 “ the world that he has received Ordination ;  
 “ and succeeds so well in his design, that du-  
 “ ring his whole life no body could discover  
 “ that he had evaded it. This scruple is migh-  
 “ ty well placed. To endeavour through hy-  
 “ pocrify to appear to have received what one  
 “ actually refuses to receive out of conscience,  
 “ is much the same as if a Christian had abhor-  
 “ red sacrificing to idols, and yet published  
 “ every where that he had done it : such a con-  
 “ trast cannot be reconciled. Add to all this  
 “ the great number of Ordinations conferred  
 “ by Barlow, and from which he might much  
 “ more easily have been excused, than from his  
 “ own. But what finishes the evidence of Bar-  
 “ low’s Consecration is an act that proves it, found  
 “ not long ago in his family, which F. Le Cou-  
 “ rayer produces legally attested by a notary pub-  
 “ lic.

This extract seems sufficient to give the reader an idea of the first volume of this work ; but there still remains a very difficult and nice point, *the question of right*, which is handled in the last volume ; whereof an extract will be given in the next Journal, with all the clearness and accuracy that the subject requires.

A R T I-



## ARTICLE XL

ANTIQUITATES Trituræ & Fulloniæ, ex antiquorum temporum Reliquiis congestæ. A Christiano Schoettgenio, Rect. & Profess. publico in Collegio Groenigiano Stargardiensi. Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Gulielmum Kroon. 1727.

That is,

THE *ancient Methods of Threshing and Fulling.* Pages 165 in 12°. besides the Indexes.

THE Author acquaints us that he has been for some time employed in preparing a new Edition of the Latin writers *de re rustica*; and to give the world a specimen of what they are to expect from him in that work, he has published these two treatises on the methods of Threshing and Fulling.

As to the former, the Author tells us, that their threshing-floors were round, in the form of a ring, and in the open field, but not far from the house, for fear of rain, and on a rising ground, for the conveniency of winnowing.

This

This gave occasion to the Emperor Justinian to make a law to prohibit the building any edifice, which might keep the wind from a threshing-floor. The ground intended for it was first dug up, the earth moistened with lees of oil, then beat very small, and being once more sprinkled with lees of oil, it was smoothed by a roller, and rammed with beetles. The design of all this was to make the floor firm and hard, and to prevent its chopping with the heat. The lees of oil (*Amurca*) are exceedingly commended † not only for this purpose, but also as very good against ants, mice, weasels and all sorts of vermin. They brought nothing but the ears of corn into the floor, and left the straw standing upon the ground ‖. Palladius, vii. 1. 2. mentions an ingenious contrivance for reaping, used in the champain parts of Gaul. They had a sort of a cart that run upon two very low wheels; the boards that formed the sides of it shelving outwards, so that it was wider above than below. That which made the forepart was lower than the other sides, and armed with a row of small spikes, like a wool-comb, bending upwards, and wide enough to receive a straw. Behind were two shafts, like that of a wheelbarrow, into which the ox was put with his face towards the machine, and being driven gently forwards and backwards through a field of standing corn, the ears were by this means all stript off, and fell into the cart, which carried them to the threshing-floor. The Ancients had several ways of threshing out their corn. One was by driving several yokes of oxen (but rather horses) into the floor, who trod it out

† Plin. H. N. 15. 8.

‖ Var. de R. R. 1. 50. 1. with

with their hoofs. Hence, says the Author, such oxen were called *Triones*, or *Teriones*, à *terendo frumentum*, not à *terendo terram*, as Varro, Servius, Macrobius, Isidorus and others tell us. This practice subsisted in England in the days of John of Salisbury, that is, in the twelfth century, as appears by a passage in his Polycraticon, *Bobus triturantibus, libentius tamen arantibus, obviabis*; and is still found in Greece and Asia, as Leunclavius assures us in his history of Turkey\*; and our countryman Knox says, that it is still in use among the inhabitants of Ceylon. He tells us, Part. I. Chap. 3. of his account of that island; that when they are to tread out the corn, they chuse a convenient adjoining place, where they lay out a piece of ground, some 20 or 25 foot over, and cut away the upper turf. Then certain ceremonies are used. First, they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers, and branches, and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells, and pieces of iron, and some sorts of wood, and a bunch of betel nuts, and lay all these in the very middle of the pit with a large stone upon them. Then the women, whose proper work it is, bring each their burthen of reaped corn upon their heads, and having carried it three times round the pit, they sling it down; after which, without any further ceremony, they bring in the rest of the corn as fast as they can.

Another way of threshing out corn was with the *Tribula* ‡, a heavy machine of wood, like a great square table, the under side of which was either cut into notches, so that it resembled a file, or else it had pieces of sharp flint or iron driven into it. This was dragged over the corn

\* P. 123.

‡ Var. I. 52. I.



by oxen; and to make it the more effectual, a great weight was laid upon it, called *Capra Tritaratoria*, made of iron in shape of a goat, as our Author understands it. He that drove the oxen, also sat upon the *Tribula*. From this word, and the effect of the machine, is derived *Tribulatio*, which emphatically enough signifies an affliction that, as it were, crushes a man. This instrument is still made use of by the present farmers of Epirus \*; and Nicol. Schmid in his account of his slavery in Turkey, written in Dutch, relates that he was often obliged to draw it along with the oxen; and adds, that the man who drove the oxen, and sat upon the *Tribula*, carried a wooden ladle, in which he received their dung. There was another kind of *Tribula* used by the antients, called *Plostellum Panicum*. In this, under the *Tribula*, were several Cylinders or Rollers of wood, into which were driven sharp pieces of flint or iron: as the *Plostellum* was drawn along, the cylinders turned round, and so beat out the corn. This machine is to this day used in Egypt, as Christoph. à Neitschuz informs us in his voyages.

The oxen were muzzled while they were thus employed. Eustath. † tells us, that a great broad collar, like a wheel, was sometimes put about their necks, so that they could not stoop; and Pollux ‡ says, that slaves employed about the house were obliged to wear it for the same reason, and so broad that they could not possibly raise their hands to their mouths. The Greeks called this wooden ruff *παιστήριον*. The Jews

\* Bellon. observ. i. 64.

† Ad Iliad. x. 466.

‡ Onomast. 7. 20.

were

were forbid to muzzle their oxen in treading out the corn, and which were therefore very fat when so employed; whence Hosea x. 11. upbraiding the Israelites with their luxury, compares them to *an heifer that is accustomed, and loves to tread out the corn*. Ælian \* says the Egyptians used to besmear the nostrils of their oxen with their own dung, to hinder them from eating the corn; for that they hate the smell of it so much, that they would not taste any thing while it remains, though they were ready to starve.

The Antients also used to beat out the corn with poles, or flails, which Columella 2. 21. 4. calls *vaculi*, and St. Jerom on Isai. 28. 27. *flagella*, whence probably comes our word *flail*; and from this word our Author suspects that the *flagella* used in St. Jerom's time were made in the same manner as our flails. He goes on and explains their manner of winnowing, which they called *Politio*, and the fan or winnow *Pala*, *Vannus*, *Cribrum areale*, *Capisterium*, and *Ventilabrum*. M. Schoettgenius discovers here very uncommon learning, upon the use of the *Vannus* or Fan in the heathen rites, its figure, and other particulars.

In the second part he observes, that the Antients, at least the better sort, generally wore white garments; but especially at any publick festival, or occasion of joy. As in Ovid. Fast. i. 79.

*Vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,  
Et populus festo concolor ipse suo est.*

\* H. Anim. 4. 25.

This made Fullers as necessary as Laundresses are now a-days. They were for most part slaves, but sometimes free ; for an inscription in Fabrettus, c. 4. p. 333. mentions the *Collegium Fullonum*, the *Fuller's Company* at Rome. The Author derives *Fullo* from βύω, to wash, or the diminutive βύλλω, from whence comes βύλλων, *fullo*. The Greeks called a Fuller γραψύς, or γραψύς, from κνέφω, a sort of thistle used by Fullers ; and hence some derive the German *Knabe*, a young man, from which our *Knave* is supposed to have come : for it did not bear the same sense at first as it does now. The place wheré the Fullers worked was called *Fullonium*, and was generally in the fields upon account of its stink : for the Fullers made great use of urine, &c. Whence, Plaut. *Afin.* 5. 2. 57.

Art. *Non queo durare. Pa. Si non didicisti fulloniam non est mirandum.*

Hence comes the distinction of *prædia meritoria* and *fullonica*. Var. R. R. 1. 16. 4. The Fullers first threw the cloaths into water, where they trod them with their feet. Horapollon Hieroglyph. 1. 65. observes that the Egyptians expressed a Fuller by the representation of two human feet in water. This trampling the Romans called *Consilium*, à *consiliendo*. Var. de L. L. lib. 5. also derives *cogitare* from the term *cogere vestimenta*, used by the Fullers. In order to provide themselves with urine, they placed earthen pitchers for people to make water in at the corners of the streets. Hence Martial, xii. 58.

*Quod sciat infelix damnatæ spongia virgæ,  
Vel quicunque canis, junctæque testa viæ.*

And

And vi. 93.

*Tam malè Thais olet quam non fullonis avarè  
Testa vetus media sed modo fracta via.*

Vespasian obliged them to pay a tax for it \* ; and being upbraided with it as a mean thing by his son, he bid him smell to some of the money that came in by that means ; adding, *Dulcis odor lucri ex re qualibet*. Pliny † says, that the keeping their feet always bathed in urine, preserved them from the gout, which Fullers were never subject to.. The cloaths having been thus trampled in water and urine, were laid upon a block, and beat with staves and battle-doors, as I think they are called : 'Twas with one of these that the Apostle James the younger had his brains beat out. Then the cloaths were hung up till the water dripped out. They washed them again with Fuller's earth, (called *Creta Sarda*, or barely *Sarda*, because it came from Sardinia) and with nitre. After this they fumigated them with sulphur : then they carded or smoothed them with a sort of thistle, or with the skin of an urchin. Some think that *carduus* comes à *carrendo*, as also *Carmen*, an instrument for carding wool. Last of all they used chalk to brighten the colour, as Pliny says || : *Veros autem & pretiosos colores emollit cimolia, & quodam colore exhilarat contristatos sulphure*. This chalk was called *Cimolia*, because it came from *Cimole*, one of the *Cyclades* ‡. To give them a gloss, and to smooth them, they put them into a press.

\* Suet. Vesp. c. 23.

† H. N. 8. 6.

|| N. H. 35. 17.

‡ Schol. Arist. ad Ran. Ovid. Met. vii. 454.

These

These particulars may be of service towards explaining some passages of old Authors ; besides, I think it is a pleasure to observe the manners, arts and contrivances of the Ancients, and compare them with the improvements or alterations of the Moderns. But our Author makes a much better use of his observations, by applying them to illustrate the Scripture ; and heartily blesses the divine wisdom and providence, for preserving to us those remains of antiquity that are necessary to the understanding of the sacred books. There are few in this degenerate age that read Columella or Varro with such devout sentiments. At the end of his treatise on Fulling, he shows us how it may be applied mystically. Every man, says he, is a piece of greasy, dirty cloth, which offends the nostrils of God with its stink. God therefore, who is the Fuller, (as David calls him, *Psal.* li. 9.) must wash us with nitre and water, that is, invite us to repentance by his word ; our hearts must be soundly beat, *i. e.* we must suffer contrition for our sins ; we must be carded with thistles, *i. e.* afflictions ; we must be fumigated with sulphur, *i. e.* be affected with a sense of the heinousness of our guilt, &c. A very good man among us, some years ago, wrote *the Arts of Weaving and Sailing Spiritualized* ; but the world has quite lost all relish for such pious books.

*Ætas majorum pejor avis dabit  
Nós nequiores, mox daturus  
Progeniem vitiosorem, Horat.*

FEBRUARY 1728.

M A R-



## ARTICLE XII.

*A LETTER from Mr. S. Buckley, Printer,  
to Dr. MEAD, concerning a new Edition  
of Thuanus's History.*

**I**F Printing must be ranked among the mechanical arts, yet it may at least vye for usefulness with any of the liberal ones, and that I think the best rule for determining the preference or esteem due to any thing, and the encouragement it ought to meet with from society; *Cui homo?* Though Britain cannot indeed claim the honour of the invention, yet I feel an uncommon pleasure in observing, that the art is now carried to as great a perfection here as any where else in the world; and that several Gentlemen of fortune, learning and ingenuity, do not think it below them to cultivate and improve it. Among these, Mr. Buckley distinguishes himself in every respect, of which the Letter now before me is a proof. In it he informs the Reader, that about three years ago, a Gentleman who has been for some time in France, communicated to his friends here a design he had formed of translating *Thuanus's History* into English, having discovered and transcribed some MSS at Paris and elsewhere, and hoping to meet with more, which

2

would

would furnish such supplements, additions, illustrations and corrections, as might make that work more compleat and useful than any Edition yet extant. These collections, by Dr. Mead's advice, and with the Gentleman's consent, Mr. Buckley has determined to employ towards a perfect Edition of that History in the original. He next proceeds to the preparations he has been making, and the plan upon which he designs to execute his undertaking. And 1. he has procured all the printed Editions of Thuanus, of which he gives a very accurate, critical, and historical account, and corrects the imperfect, confused and erroneous one published by Joh. Petr. Titius, in his *Recensio Voluminum Historicorum Thuanii*, printed at Dantzick in 4to 1685. But in short, each Edition differs from every one of the rest. Thuanus some years before he died, (which was in May 1617) deposited a perfect copy of his whole History, to prevent any accident that might befall it, in the hands of his friend Mr. Lingelsheim of Heidelberg, which he intended to have continued to the year 1610, when Henry IV. was killed, but lived to carry it only as far as 1607. In his last Will he also left a copy of his History ready for the press, together with all his papers, to the care of his friends Puteanus and Rigaltius.

In 1620 Lingelsheim published his edition of the whole history of Geneva, adding to it the Author's life; Puteanus and Rigaltius it seems not being able to obtain a privilege for that purpose in France; and M. Peiresc in a letter to Camden, Oct. 14. 1620. tells us, that the guardians of Thuanus's children talked of throwing it into the fire; so that it had probably never appeared, if there had been no other copy

but what was in their hands. Camden following the example of Thuanus, for the same reason deposited a fair copy of the second part of his Annals of Queen Elizabeth in the hands of Puteanus, which did not see the light till 1625. in which year, March 27. King James died, two years after Camden.

As to the Plan of Mr. Buckley's new edition, he designs to treat his Author like an old Classic, giving the Geneva edition of 1620 as the Text, and placing at the foot of every page the various readings of other editions, with the omissions or insertions of passages, and the alterations of sentences and expressions, whenever the sense is thereby affected. He sets a great value upon this Geneva edition, which he thinks was probably published with the consent and approbation of Puteanus and Rigaltius. He observes that these two gentlemen acknowledged it (bating the errors in the transcribing and printing it, which are many) as an authentic copy, which in effect is the same thing as publishing that which Thuanus committed to their care; that both of them did severally apply themselves to perform the task enjoined them by their deceased friend; that they read over all the volumes of Lingelsheim's edition, and in the margin of their respective books wrote down and marked many verbal and even literal corrections, emendations of expressions, alterations of some passages, a few rasures of others, and also insertions of passages very considerable for their number and importance; that in doing this, they very friendly, and with perfect integrity and good conscience, made use of the power and liberty Thuanus had given them by his will, that their corrections are such as were  
made



made necessary by the negligence of the Copyist or Printer ; that their emendations or alterations and rasures might have been made at their own discretion ; that the passages inserted were probably gathered from Thuanus's own papers, he having bequeathed to them all his writings ; that both these gentlemen agree in most of the inserted passages, which is a sign they drew them from the same source, or settled them by concert.

Mr. Buckley has now in his hands accurate copies, I. Of Puteanus's corrections and insertions, which were written by himself in the margin of his book. II. Of the corrections and insertions marked by Rigaltius in the margin of his book. III. A collection of passages copied from what is called the Autographon, or M. de Thou's MS. of his own history, kept in the royal library at Paris. This is not the *parata editio*, which he left to the care of his two friends, and is not yet discovered, but one that he gave M. Du Puy, Dec. 31. 1612.

He afterwards proceeds to give some account of *Thuanus Restitutus*, published at Amsterdam 1663. in 12°. and as F. le Long says, compiled by M. Wicquefort, which he discovers to be full of defects and errors.

From the whole account he concludes, that whoever is possessed of every edition yet extant of Thuanus's history, has not one perfect and correct edition among them all ; nor can make up a perfect book out of them all by the help of *Thuanus Restitutus*, which is very defective and faulty. From hence appears the necessity and usefulness of a new edition of that valuable Work, for which any one that reads Mr. Buckley's letter will allow him to be very sufficiently

qualified. As a specimen of what the curious may promise themselves from this undertaking, especially seeing there are but very few copies of this letter to be met with, I shall here print two of these important passages he has given us, as inserted by Puteanus and Rigaltius. They are curious, and may be of use to those who have any of the former editions.

Pag. 10. F. lin. 4. *Post verba in bonum vertat. adde, Nec desperandum est quin qualiscunque religionis silvestria illa plantaria, melioris doctrinæ insitione, Hispanorum jugo excusso & libertate red-dita, quasi novellæ, suaveis & auctore Christo dignos fructus aliquando producant. Ut Ortus Hispanorum sic contra Gallorum Occasus causas, pariter Religioni tribuo. Nam cum Christiana pietas ab initio in Galliâ semper floruerit, ut quam monstris caruisse scripserit Hieronymus, purioris Doctrinæ cultum hoc dicto in ea semper viguisse innuens; varendum erat, ne crescente in Italia potentia Gallorum, quibus tantas opes Pontifices Romani debere se negare non possunt, unâ & potentia Romana in immensam & Orbi Christiano intolerandam magnitudinem evaderet.——Nos certe Galli simplices nimis, quorum imprudentia factum est, ut dum plus justo Religionis Custodibus & Ministris tribuitur, ipsi Religioni male consultum sit. Nam nihil æque, si verum amamus, religioni obeat, quam nimis opes & immoderata unius potentia; quæ si in Monarchiis, ubi degenerare incipit, omnibus intolerabilis existit, in domo Dei, ubi majore cum periculo peccatur, nullo modo ferri debet. Itaque ut in iis, quæ vere ad religionem pertinent, nihil de potestate Ecclesiastica, quam veneror & suspicio, imminuendum aut delibandum censeam; ita Pontificum Romanorum interesse existimo, de potestate Terrena,*

*Terrena, quam tot jam abhinc sæculis nimis avide  
consecrantur, multa refecari; ipsis utique meo ju-  
dicio majoribus futuris, si minores esse velint. Nam  
quorsum fastus ille, & insolentes tituli, & plusquam  
Regia Majestas, nisi ut Religio simplex, candida,  
& per se venerabilis, in invidiam odium & male-  
dicentiam culpa ministrorum incurrat? Ut sub no-  
vis subinde Dominis nova cottidie monstra, nova  
imperia, novi tyranni in Italia exoriantur? Ut pa-  
ce publica turbata, & omisso communi Christiani  
nominis hoste, Orbis Christianus armis concutiat?   
Piget dicere & tamen dicendum est, ex quo abjectis  
clavibus & relictis precibus ac lacrimis, quæ sola  
& vera sunt arma Sacerdotum, sumptum sceptrum,  
tiara, gladius; ex eo cura pastoralis negligi, dis-  
ciplina sacra corrumpi, & corruptis moribus ipsa  
Doctrina paulatim adulterari cepit. Tunc omissa  
concilia, hoc est, neglecta Religiosorum cum Deo  
fœdera, & inita nova fœdera cum hominibus, ipsis  
ferme semper damnosa, certe Reipublicæ Christianæ  
luctuosa: Nec sane, si fas mortalibus de æternis  
Dei consiliis pronuntiare, aliud in causa fuisse  
dixerim.*

Pag. 11. A. lin. 9. Post verbum *amplificasset*,  
adde, *Nam quid portentosius prisca vel nostra ætas  
vidit vel audiit? hominem sacris devotum largi-  
tionibus in Templum Dei invasisse; ibi ferro, ve-  
neno, fraude tam diu impune grassatum esse; ex ne-  
fando coitu susceptos liberos, omni pudore excuto,  
ausum propalam filios appellare; incestibus homi-  
cidiiis & latrociniis infamem familiam aluisse;  
inde vitia domestica in omnem Italiam sparsisse;  
postremo Christiani gregis pastorem jurati Christia-  
norum hostis clandestino fœdere stipendiarium fuisse!*  
Et quidem hæc ab omnibus qui res illius temporis  
scripserunt, *Memoriæ prodita sunt, etiam iis, qui  
Pontificiæ nominis reverentia multa alioqui non ta-*

*cenda silentio diffimularunt. Sed omnem fidem superat, quod Fr. Guicciardinus, Vir fide prudentia & eloquentia cuiusvis ebe antiquitate comparandus, nulli certe meo iudicio posthabendus, scripsit, non solum duos fratres Franciscum Candianum & Caesarem, qui postea beneficio nostro Valentiae Dux factus est, incesto Lucretiae sororis amore exarsisse, (quod ob rivalitatem Candiano perniciem attulit,) sed etiam ipsum parentem tam perditae filiam deperisse, ut eam a Marito priore, statim initio Pontificatus, quasi tanta adfinitate indigno, abduxerit, mox pudore victum Joanni Sfortiae Pisauri Domino elocavisse; & postremo, cum ne quidem maritum rivalem pati posset, Joannem ad res Venereas frigidum causatum, subornatis falsis testibus contractum cum eo matrimonium dissolvissse. Quo nomine etiam a Jacobo Sannazario, viro bono & eximio sui temporis Poeta passim proscinditur, & illo carmine praecipue, cujuscunque tandem sit, quo Lucretia filia, sponsa, nurus Alexandri fuisse perhibetur. Mitto Astorem Manfredum Faventiae Dominum eximia forma puerum stupratum, & contra datam fidem postea necatum; tot illustres Duces inde a filio Senegalliae, inde a patre Romae crudeliter occisos; & Venenum Cardinalibus paratum ab ipso Alexandro epotum; quae mors tali vita dignissima fuit. Cum tali monstro junctae adfinitatis contagia & piacula res nostras infecisse, & optimi Principis fortunam in praecipue dedisse, merito existimare possumus.*



## ARTICLE XIII.

### G E N E V A.

**A** New Journal, under the title of *Bibliothèque Italienne*, is to be published here every three months ; and the first will come out very soon,

### D U B E N.

**D**r. John Christian Wolff is preparing for the press, An Answer to Dr. Middleton's Dissertation *de Medicorum Romæ degentium Conditione ignobili atque servili*. Dr. Wolff thinks his adversary very much obliged to a little book printed at Leyden in 1671, and reprinted in 1681, though he has not once quoted it. It is entituled, *Medicus Romanus servus sexaginta solidis estimatus*.

### A M S T E R D A M.

**I. M.** Barbeyrac, Professor of Civil Law at Groningen, and F. R. S. at Berlin, designs very soon to publish *Traité de la Morale des Peres*, in defence of an article in his Preface to Puffendorf, against *L'Apologie de la Morale des Peres*, by F. Cellier, a Benedictin of the Congregation of St. Vanne and St. Nydulphe.

dulphe. It is thought this book will not greatly please the passionate admirers of those venerable Gentlemen. It will contain about fifty sheets in 4to.

II. A French translation of Mr. Chillingworth's excellent book, entitled, *The Protestant Religion a safe way to salvation*, is going to be printed here; and his Life, by M. Des Maizeaux, will be prefixed to it.

III. M. Simon's Letters are also in the press, in four Volumes in 12°. They were suppressed in France, and grown so scarce that they were not to be had.

## P A R I S.

**M**R. Fontenelle has published *Elements de la Geometrie de l'Infini. Suite des Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, in 4to. The Author might have been contented with shining almost unrivalled as a fine Orator, and an excellent Poet, without aspiring to that of a good Mathematician too. It is not fair to pretend to all three at once; for that's more than falls to any one man's share.

## L O N D O N.

I. **W**E at last see here Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended*, in 4to; wherein the great Author supports his opinions with such solid and numerous arguments, that his system seems now to need no further defence against the objections which a partial view of it had raised. However, 'tis said

said that Mr. Whiston, who in some other cases readily yields even to the lowest degree of probability, is not yet convinced that Sir Isaac is right, in the astronomical part of this work; and that he designs very soon to demonstrate his mistake. If he does, it will be a great triumph both over Sir Isaac and Dr. Halley, who has undertaken his defence.

II. Mr. Cooke has published his *Translation of the Works of Hesiod, in English Verse; with Notes Explanatory, Critical and Philosophical. To which is prefixed the Life of Hesiod.* In two Volumes 4to. There were but 500 Copies printed, it seems; and most of those subscribed for. 'Tis said that the learned and Right Hon. E. of B - - - did the Author the honour to furnish him with most of the Notes, which will exceedingly recommend it to the Curious.

III. Dr. Dawson, Vicar of Windsor, has printed Proposals for printing in five volumes in 4<sup>o</sup>. *An Essay towards a general history of England from the Settlement of King Brutus to the Restoration of King Charles the II<sup>d</sup>,* containing the space of 2760 years. The Author proposes to give us the effigies of several of our antient [not modern] British and Saxon Kings from the paintings of Matthew Paris. I hope he will not forget to procure that of Brutus too. I suppose he also intends to prefix to his Work a confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology; for as Sir Isaac pretends that the taking of Troy, which occasioned Brutus to flee to this Island, happened only 904 years before Christ, there is about 200 years difference between his calculation and the Doctor's history.

IV. Mr.

IV. Mr. Hutchinson, Author of the *Enquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, has just published an *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections ; with Illustrations on the Moral Sense*. In 8vo.

V. Mr. Palmer, Printer, has published Proposals for printing by Subscription, in two Volumes 4to, *A general History of Printing*. The first Volume will contain the History of it from its infancy about 1440, to 1520 ; in which all the remarkable occurrences are regularly considered. The second Volume will treat of the practical part ; in which all the Materials and the manual Operations will be described fully, and in a familiar manner. Mr. Palmer observes, that a general History of Printing was never before attempted ; the Authors who have wrote on this subject, having rather aimed at settling the controversies between those Cities that contend for the honour of the invention, than displaying the excellencies of the art. The Proposals, in which the Author has given us the contents of each book and chapter, are really in themselves a curiosity ; and if the Design be executed according to the Plan, (as there is no reason to doubt but it will) the Performance must be very entertaining and instructive.

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

**I** Am very much obliged to some ingenious Gentlemen, who have favoured me with their Letters, especially that from Wadham College, OXON, which I shall take the first opportunity to publish. But I must beg that my Correspondents would be so good as to handle the subjects they write upon, with as much conciseness as is consistent with clearness and the size of this Journal.





THE  
Present State  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC  
OF  
LETTERS.  
For *March*, 1728.  
VOL. I.

—*Fungar vice cotis, acutum  
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.*  
Horat.

LONDON:  
Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNES,  
at the West End of St. Paul's, MDCCLXXVIII.

Price One Shilling.

# BOOKS printed for W. and J. INNYs.

1. **T**HE Beauty of Holiness in the Common-Prayer : As set forth in Four Sermons preach'd at the Rolls-Chapel in the year 1716. By *Tho. Bisse*, D. D. The Eighth Edition, 8vo. 1728.
2. C. Plinii Panegyricus, Trajano dictus : In Usum Delphini, & cum Notis Variorum. 8vo. 1728.
3. Fourteen Discourses on several select Subjects. By *W. Shorey*, A. M. Lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry. The Second Edition, 8vo. 1728.
4. De Peste Liber : Autore Rich. Mead, M. D. Col. Med. Lond. & Soc. Reg. Soc. 8vo. 1723.
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8. *Phthisiologia* ; or, A Treatise of Consumptions ; Wherein the Difference, Nature, Causes, Signs, and Cure of all Sorts of Consumptions are explained. By *Richard Moreton*, M. D. The Second Edition, 8vo.
9. The British History, by *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, in English. Octavo.
10. The History of Cold Bathing, both ancient and modern. By Sir *John Floyer*, of Litchfield, Knight. To which is added an Appendix, by *Edward Baynard*, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians, London. The Fifth Edition, 8vo. 1722.
11. Mr. *Dodwell's* Works abridged ; with his Life. In Two Volumes, 8vo. 1723.
12. Philosophical Experiments and Observations of the late eminent Dr. *Robert Hooke*, F. R. S. and Geom. Prof. *Gresh.* and other eminent *Virtuoso's* in his Time. With Copper Plates. Publish'd by *W. Denham*, F. R. S. 8vo. 1726.



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THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

For MARCH 1728.

ARTICLE XIV.

A DEFENCE of the *Dissertation on the Validity of the English ORDINATIONS, against the several Answers made to it: with proper Vouchers for the Facts advanced in that Work.* By the Author of the *Dissertation.* London: 1728. in two Volumes 8vo. Pages in Vol. I. 536. in Vol. II. 584.

HAVING in the last Journal given my Reader as particular a view (as was possible in an Extract) of the facts and records produced by F. Le Courayer, to prove that the  
MARCH 1728. N Nag's-

Nag's-head story is a mere fable, and that Parker's Ordination is evidently demonstrable ; I shall here give an historical account of the methods the Author makes use of, to show that the Ordinations of the Church of England are as certain with respect to *Right*, as to *Fact* : in which I shall represent Father Le Courayer's Opinions and Arguments with all exactness and fidelity, and leave the Publick to decide the dispute.

The point in question is, Whether the English Ordinations are defective either in *matter*, or *form* ? As F. Le Quien agrees with the Author, that the Imposition of Hands is sufficient for the *matter*, F. Le Courayer takes it for granted ; and neglecting F. Hardouin's scruples, thinks it needless to prove a point, which is not now contested by any men of true learning and sound divinity.

He therefore confines himself to prove, that with respect to the *form* also, there is no room to doubt of the Validity of these Ordinations ; and in order to fix the true point in dispute, he begins with observing in what he agrees with his adversary F. Le Q. and wherein they differ.

“ F. Le Q. says he, agrees with me, 1. That  
 “ Prayer is the essential form of Ordination.  
 “ 2. That the essence of the form of Ordina-  
 “ tion is not limited to any certain and uniform  
 “ Prayer in all Churches. 3. That neither is  
 “ it confined to the Prayers that accompany the  
 “ several ceremonies of Ordination, such as Un-  
 “ ction, the delivery of the Instruments, &c.  
 “ 4. And lastly, That it is not annexed to the  
 “ grammatical words of the Roman Pontifical.  
 “ The only question therefore that remains to  
 “ be

“ be decided, (adds he) is, What kind of  
 “ Prayer may be esteemed sufficient ?

F. Le Q. pretended that a Form must, in order to be sufficient, express the *effect* and *end* of the Sacrament ; and consequently, that the Form of Sacerdotal Ordination ought to mention the *Sacrifice*, without which it would be insufficient. F. Le C. on the contrary, maintains, that it is sufficient to constitute a Form valid, that we therein beg of God the graces necessary to the Priest elect for discharging all the duties of his office, without any obligation to specify them particularly. He shows that even F. Le Q. himself comes at last into the same opinion, seeing the Prayer, which that Father pitches upon as the Form of Priests Orders, says not a word of the Sacrifice, nor that Ministers are thereby empowered to offer it, as F. H. very pertinently observes ; seeing in short he contents himself with desiring *that the Form should, virtually at least, express the end and effect of the Sacrament.* “ That is, in plain English, that it is not necessary it should *distinctly* “ express what it was pretended it ought so to “ express ; since nothing is more opposite to a “ *distinct* expression, than one merely *virtual*. “ Thus are we really agreed, even when F. Le “ Q. affects to show the greatest opposition.

But F. Le C. without taking advantage of these favourable concessions, deduces the matter from its origin, and enquires, 1. Whether it be necessary that a Form express distinctly the end and effect of the Sacrament. 2. If distinct mention was made of the Sacrifice in all the ancient Forms of Sacerdotal Ordination. He maintains the negative of both these points ; and by comparing the sacraments of baptism and con-

firmation, the forms of which contain only the action of the Minister, and the invocation of the H. Trinity, he endeavours to prove that specifying the *end* and *effect* of a Sacrament in the form thereof is needless ; and afterwards he produces a great number of ancient Forms of Ordination, such as those of the Coptics, Ethiopians, Armenians, and those of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where not the least notice is taken of the Sacrifice. He observes further, that in the primitive times, the offering of the Sacrifice being reserved to the Bishops, the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* ranks that function among those that belonged to Bishops only, and not among those that belonged to Priests. Whence he concludes that the Form used in K. Edward's Ritual is sufficient and valid, seeing such forms were reckoned so by antiquity, seeing this is equivalent to them, as well as to the Prayer of the Roman Pontifical, (according to F. H.) and seeing this Form has more than a *bare analogy to the effect of the Sacrament* ; which would nevertheless be sufficient, in the opinion of M. Habert.

In order to make an essential difference between the form of K. Edward's Ritual and those that were used in the Eastern Churches, F. Le Q. thought proper to insist upon the error imputed to the English with respect to the Sacrifice : but our Author, without stopping at this point, (which he resumes in another place) contents himself with observing by the by, that though the error of the English were certain, yet it could not corrupt a form allowed to be sufficient in the Catholic Church ; and he asserts further, that this error amounts to no more than a dispute about a word ; that the English have pre-



preserved the institution of Jesus Christ entire ; that they *intend* to do all that Christ appointed ; that among them the consecration of the symbols is performed (as in all other Christian Churches) by the words of Jesus Christ, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, and by prayer ; that they believe that Christ gives us his body and his blood under those symbols ; that in receiving them, they offer up to God the death and passion of his Son, and beg that the effect of them may be applied to them : Truths which, according to our Author, are more than sufficient to ascertain the validity of the form used by them.

But though we should suppose that the Sacerdotal form is defective among the English, the Author maintains in another chapter, (which falls properly under our notice in this place) that the conferring of Episcopal Ordination may supply that defect ; that frequently among the Ancients, the Episcopate was conferred without Priesthood ; that this practice has been common enough in the Church of Rome ; that the ablest Catholic writers have been of that opinion, and that the Doctors of Sorbonne condemned this doctrine neither in *De-Dominis*, nor M. de Flavigny.

The Author afterward ridicules F. H.'s new system, *viz.* the institution of two *matters*, and two *forms*, the one for the East, and the other for the West ; as well as the pretended tacit dispensation of the Church of Rome, invented by an anonymous Benedictin, by virtue whereof the Eastern Ordinations, according to the anonymous writer, have hitherto been judged valid. He shows (more largely perhaps than he needs) that these two systems are nothing but whims

of the imagination, and ridiculous fancies which divert the Reader, at the expence of those who invent them.

He endeavours to show against the anonymous Writer, that the adoption of the Roman rites by the Church of England, has not deprived her of her power to make alterations in such things as are not essential; that the union of particular Churches with that of Rome, by adopting her rites, is an union of association and subordination, and not of absolute dependance; that such subordination does not deprive them of their liberty in the use of their rites; that in the celebration of the Eucharist (a Sacrament in which there ought to be the greatest uniformity, if in any) we see four Liturgies entirely distinct, and very different, and that the Churches by suppressing their own rites, and conforming to those of Rome, never stripped themselves of the liberty of rejecting the latter, in order to receive again those they had parted with, or to adopt such as they thought authorized by great and antient Churches.

This *Variation of Forms* then (which F. H. himself acknowledges to have been in the Eastern Churches) will not according to our Author, shock any one who has the least acquaintance with the different practices of Christian Churches; and there would be no reason, he says, to fear any inconvenience to the validity of the Sacraments, though there were as great a difference between the rites of the Western Churches, as there is between those of the East, and those of the West.

The Author having thus determined all that essentially relates to the Validity of the English Ordinations, proceeds to the incidental question concern-

concerning the Sacrifice, which he proves to be altogether foreign to the dispute, and into which he says he is obliged to enter, not so much in order to establish the Validity of the English Ordinations, (which is independent of it) as to vindicate his Faith against the calumnies, or at least the unjust suspicions whereby some have endeavoured to render him odious. Indeed, says F. Le C. whatever opinions the English may have about this point, (even though they should be supposed to be erroneous) if the succession of their Ordinations be demonstrated, *it cannot be doubted but that they truly consecrate, that Jesus Christ becomes really present by their Ministry, and consequently that they really offer the same Sacrifice, which it is pretended they disown.* “ Grant “ (says he) that they are in an error upon this “ point, that is the utmost that can be pretend- “ ed ; but neither reason nor authority allow us “ to believe that their error can change the na- “ ture of things. In mysteries, as in sacra- “ ments, ’tis not the opinions of men that give “ them their force and efficacy : they are what “ they are in themselves, and independent on “ our thoughts. If the Eucharist be a sacri- “ fice, let men think of it as they please, it will “ be equally so to those who esteem it as “ such, and to those who refuse it that name, “ It would be a deplorable misfortune indeed, “ if the pledges of God’s goodness to us de- “ pended on the whims and fancies of men, if “ every one could add to, or impair his gifts, “ and if our prejudices and our errors should “ prevail against the institution of Jesus Christ, “ and destroy the effects of his power, and his “ goodness. No, no ; if the external action, “ the rite of the Sacrament, and the ceremony “ of

“ of the Sacrifice be preserved, and religiously  
 “ exercised by the Minister, and according to  
 “ the form authorised in his Church, nothing  
 “ can degrade the Sacraments from their dig-  
 “ nity, nor deprive them of their virtue ; and  
 “ the seal of the institution is as firm in the bo-  
 “ som of a foreign Sect, as in the midst of the  
 “ Catholic Church.

The question of the Sacrifice, and the enquiry into the opinions of the English about it, are quite foreign to the business of the English Ordinations. However, F. Le C. jealous of his reputation, in order to prevent scandal, and to show that he is under no apprehensions from explaining himself upon so tender a point, consents to enter into this new question ; and after having observed that F. Le Q. has neither rightly understood, nor given a good account of the doctrine of the Church upon the Article of the Sacrifice, he lays down what he maintains to be the true faith of the Church, and his own upon this point. I shall give this account in the Author's own words, to avoid mistaking his sense.

“ Nothing, says he, is either more frequent-  
 “ ly or more clearly set forth in Scripture, than  
 “ the atonement which Christ made for our sins  
 “ upon the cross, and the oblation of his Life  
 “ which he made to his Father, in order to re-  
 “ concile him to men, and obtain for them, by  
 “ so powerful an intercession, the pardon of  
 “ their guilt, and the promise of eternal life.  
 “ That Sacrifice, once offered, put an end to all  
 “ those of the Old Testament. The blood of  
 “ bulls and goats is not now carried into the  
 “ Sanctuary, but that of Jesus Christ shed for  
 “ us. As sacrifices of the flesh of animals had  
 “ no

“ no efficacy in themselves, it was necessary to  
 “ repeat them as often as they appeared before  
 “ God, for expiating of fresh sins, or renewing  
 “ of their thanksgivings. The case is not the  
 “ same with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who  
 “ could dye but once. But though he dies not  
 “ again, the efficacy of his blood is still the  
 “ same, and he is always living to present it  
 “ before God, and obtain his mercy for those  
 “ who rely upon it with faith and confidence.  
 “ It was not therefore necessary that he should  
 “ dye any more ; but it was sufficient that his  
 “ blood once shed, should be offered to God as  
 “ often as we would expiate fresh crimes, or  
 “ obtain new favours. As our eternal High-  
 “ Priest, he himself offers to his Father the  
 “ death which he once suffered : but this offer-  
 “ ing is invisible ; and it was fit that a human  
 “ Society should have some external bond, to  
 “ unite them in the same worship. For this  
 “ reason, Jesus Christ, when ready to leave the  
 “ earth, and upon the point of suffering death,  
 “ to the end that the remembrance of the Sa-  
 “ crifice he was about to offer of his Life,  
 “ might be always present to our minds, esta-  
 “ blished the memory of the death he was go-  
 “ ing to suffer, under the symbols of bread and  
 “ wine, and commanded us to shew it forth as  
 “ often as by receiving his body and his blood,  
 “ under those symbols, we should do in remem-  
 “ brance of him the action he appointed.

The Author justifies this account of his faith by the very words of the Council of Trent, and pretends that those who would talk with accuracy upon this point, ought not to say that the Sacrifice of the Mass is a *continued* or *reiterated* Sacri-

**Sacrifice**, but a *Sacrifice offered, represented and applied*. He afterwards distinguishes two different relations in the Eucharist, *viz.* as a Sacrament, and as a Sacrifice. As a Sacrament, it includes Jesus Christ, who is therein received : as a Sacrifice, we thereby renew the memory of his death, and offer it to his Father, by the consecration of the signs appointed to be the symbols of it. This account contains three things. 1. The change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. 2. The true and real presence of Christ under the symbols, after that change. 3. The oblation of the death of Jesus Christ, which is thereby represented and called to mind. The Author owns these truths, with all Catholic Divines ; but he makes use of the liberty allowed (he says) to the schools concerning what ought to fix the idea of our Sacrifice, in order to maintain that this idea is derived only from the offering of the death of Christ, and not from the reality of his presence.

This he endeavours to prove in the 5th Chapter of the 4th Book ; where, after repeated acknowledgments of the reality of the presence of Jesus Christ, and after having owned that all the Fathers suppose such a presence, he asserts that it was not the idea of this presence, but that of the immolation, which furnished Divines with the idea of the Sacrifice. He owns in the meantime, that according to the laws of the institution, there is no Sacrifice in the Church, without this Presence : but afterwards changing the thesis into an useless hypothesis, which does not at all affect the present question, he maintains that the idea of the Sacrifice being derived not from

from the Presence, but from the offering of the Immolation, there might be a sacrifice without the real Presence, if the laws of the institution were such that Christ did not become present. This hypothesis, he says, does no way relate to the English, by whose ministry Jesus Christ becomes really present in the Eucharist ; seeing the efficacy of their ministry depends not upon their errors, but upon the validity of their ordination, which he pretends to have proved beyond contradiction.

The Author proposes next to show, that the controversy between the English and the Catholics about the Priesthood is a dispute only about words ; that the former acknowledge the same truths as the latter ; and oppose nothing but their expressions. He compares this contest with that which formerly arose in the Church, whether there were one or two *Hypostases*. He goes farther, and though he owns that the *English* reject Transubstantiation, (in which, says he, they err) he advances that it is not equally certain that they reject the real Presence ; that Mr. Bosuet durst not deny it ; and he adds, that he is not afraid the Church will disown the real Presence, the Belief of which he attributes to them, though in a different sense from most Catholic Divines, who own no other real Presence than that which preserves to the body of Christ *all its own natural properties under the accidents of another* ; that is, a physical, organic, and local Presence ; properties upon which the Council of Trent did not think fit to explain themselves, being content with acknowledging a true, *substantial*, but incomprehensible Presence, effected by the change of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

But

But whatever opinions the English may entertain upon this point, the Author pretends that with regard to the Sacrifice, there is nothing but a mere dispute about words between us. What might perhaps raise some doubt concerning their orthodoxy in this point, and the preservation of the Hierarchy among them, is, that Calvin (as F. Le Q. has observed) is thought to have had a hand in reforming the Ordinal. But F. Le C. takes a great deal of pains to prove, that that Reformer was neither consulted, nor followed in any thing of this nature ; that it is entirely contrary to his views ; that Bucer, who had a hand in the Liturgy, had none in the Ordinal ; that the Ordinal he prepared for the Church of Strasburg, is essentially different from K. Edward's ; and the opposition made by the Non-Conformists to Episcopal Government, is a proof that in retaining Episcopacy, and forming the Ordinal, neither the views nor maxims of Calvin were followed.

'Twas probably in consequence of this opposition between the Ordinations of England and those of the Calvinist Churches, that Rome gave the English hopes of approving their Liturgy, and their Ordinal, if they would consent to be reunited, and own the authority of the Pope. Camden relates the fact ; and the Author, after him, had advanced it as pretty probable, though he did not vouch for the certainty of it. This F. Le Q. made a great crime in him, and said, ' That it did not become a Catholic Author to make use of such a fact, unless it ' were very certain, and well confirmed. F. Le C. endeavours to justify himself, by showing from a great number of other Authors, that this fact, though not demonstrated, is yet so  
suffi-



sufficiently supported, that it may be related as very probable ; especially, says he, seeing the same Proposals that were made to Q. Elizabeth, were afterwards offered to K. James I.

And, agreeably to this, he pretends that it is so far from being certain, that Ordinations conferred according to K. Edward's Ritual were from the very first reiterated in the Church of Rome, that there are proofs on the contrary, that several of those Ordinations were admitted ; that Bonner himself, the Catholic Bishop of London, owned Scory's to be valid ; that we can neither doubt of the Consecration of the Bishops degraded under Q. Mary, nor make use of that degradation to prove the invalidity of their Ordination ; that in the Episcopal Registers of the Catholic Bishops in Q. Mary's reign, we find no judicial Act declaring the Orders conferred and received according to K. Edward's Ritual to be null ; that all the Reordinations then performed, were the effect of an imprudent zeal, which confounded irregular with invalid Ordinations ; that Rome afterwards adopted the practice of reordaining the English, only through ignorance of the facts ; which practice no more proves the invalidity of the English Ordinations, than the invalidity of the Ordination of the Bishops of Sééz and Avellino, which the Congregation of the H. Office caused to be reiterated in circumstances, where the doubt appeared by no means to be well founded.

From these reflections, the Author at last proceeds to another incidental question, on which M. Fennel has very much insisted, and which relates to the Authority by which the Ordinal was formed. That Author pretends that  
it

it was the work of a mere Lay-Authority. But F. Le C. stiffly maintains, that the King and Parliaments of England had no other hand in the Ordinal, than prescribing the use of it, upon the approbation of the Clergy ; that the reforming of the ancient Church books was first begun by the Clergy, under the orders of Henry VIII. ; that after his death, the Clergy petitioned that that work, which had been interrupted, might be resumed ; that the Deputies nominated by Edward upon this Petition, were all taken from among the Clergy, and all of them Members of the Convocation ; that the work was entirely left to those Deputies, and with so much trust and confidence in them, that the Parliament authorized the use of that new Book, without obliging them to lay it before them ; and that the King made no other use of his Authority by commanding it to be used, but such as is requisite in England for the passing of a Law ; that he interposed it at that time, only to bind his subjects, and not to bring the work under his own censure.

Upon occasion of this difficulty, our Author condemns indeed the extremities to which the Kings of England pushed things in the beginning of the Reformation ; but pretends nevertheless that, bating some occasional excesses from which great Revolutions are never exempted, those Princes have hardly claimed any Prerogatives, but such as most ancient Princes have often made use of : and without explaining whether he thinks well or ill of such enterprises, he contents himself with concluding, that no consequence can be drawn from them against the Validity of the English Ordinations, and the subsistence of their Hierarchy. Be-  
sides,

sides, he proves from abundance of English Authors, that all the Authority of the Kings of England is confined to a mere external Policy; that if Henry and Edward exceeded in their usurpation of the Authority of the Church, their conduct has been disclaimed both by the Church of England, and their own Successors; that occasional and transient usurpations do not at all affect the Preservation of the Priesthood, and the Validity of Ordinations; and that we ought to judge of the nature of a Society by the laws, rather than such irregularities.

In order to put an end to the whole dispute, the Author having run through some incidental facts, of which he pretends his adversaries have been very ill informed, endeavours to force them in their last retrenchment, which is that of *doubt*: and after having observed that every doubt is not sufficient to cause a Sacrament to be reiterated; that there are doubts of whim, indolence, ignorance, prepossession, scrupulousness, credulity; that all these kinds of doubt cannot authorise the reiteration of Orders; that to this end, the doubt must be solid, well founded, and well proved; that a certainty of the principal fact cannot be destroyed by an ignorance of some trifling circumstance, or by an objection: after all these remarks, I say, he comes to apply them, and maintains, that, with regard to Parker's ordination at Lambeth, there is not a fact in all Ecclesiastical History better proved; that as to the rite, there is no objection to it; and we must reject all the Ordinations of the East as invalid, if we doubt of the Validity of Parker's, seeing the same matter and the same form were used, or at least a form  
alto-

altogether equivalent to theirs, even in F. H.'s own opinion ; that there is as strong a certainty with regard to Barlow, his Consecrator, seeing most of the Consecrations of the Catholic Bishops of those times are not better attested than Barlow's ; and F. H. himself owns, that if all the acts produced in favour of that Bishop were authentic, (as there is no room now left to doubt of it) never was any man's Episcopate so well proved as his.

Thus then, according to the Author, all that rampart of *doubts* is quite useless. If there remains any about what properly constitutes the idea and notion of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, as it is merely an incidental question, which amounts to no more than a barely possible hypothesis, and does not at all affect the affair of Ordinations, their validity is independent of it, and this doubt can by no means lessen the certainty of those Ordinations.

These are the remarks wherewith F. Le C. ends his book, the recapitulation of which is followed by a large and important collection of Acts. The most considerable are some testimonies of Catholic Writers in favour of these Ordinations ; the Extracts of the Registers of the Chapter of Canterbury, and of the Prerogative Court, in order to fix the time of Parker's Consecration ; the Acts of the Consecration of most of that Prelate's Consecrators ; the Act of Barlow's Confirmation in the See of St. David's, his taking his seat in Parliament, and some extracts of a MS. Life, which attest his Consecration ; a comparison between some antient Formules in Edward's Ordinal, the antient Gallican Liturgy, and that Prince's second Liturgy.

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The Author has added at the end of his book, an apology for himself, against a pamphlet called *Important Observations*, &c. where he first declares that he owns with his adversary, the reality of the Sacrifice, and of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist ; and then pretends that all the contest that remains to be decided, amounts only to a bare hypothesis, quite foreign to the dispute, and hitherto freely left to the decision of the Schools : *i. e.* the only question is, Whether the idea of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist be derived from the Presence, which no body denies ; or from the Immolation, which is only represented ? This point the Author had discussed before, and needed not to have resumed it ; but he thought that the last pamphlet written against him (under the title of *Important Observations*) by a Person of Merit, and invested with a venerable Character, deserved the honour of a particular and direct Answer.

This is that Extract which was suppressed in the *Journal des Sçavans*, and for that reason I have faithfully given it word for word, excepting a reflexion or two by the Author of it, which relate to the Church of Rome only, and concern neither us nor the dispute. You see it is only a fair state of the question, and a just representation of F. Le C.'s opinions, and the arguments by which he supports them, without any encomium upon the Author or his work, but rather the contrary. However, the *public wisdom* thought proper to suppress it. How happy is that State, and how much to be envied by us, where the Civil Government watches so carefully over the Interests of the Church !



## ARTICLE XV.

*A TREATISE of the System of the World, by Sir ISAAC NEWTON. Translated into English. London : printed for F. Fayram, at the South Entrance under the Royal Exchange. 1728. in 8vo. pagg. 154. with a Preface of 24.*

**T**HOUGH the Executors of the late Sir Isaac Newton have promised to oblige the world with the Latin original of this work, yet as it may be some time before they can satisfy the general impatience to see whatever came from the hand of so great a Master, I hope a short idea of this translation will be no disagreeable entertainment. Indeed, there seems to be no reason for doubting that this is the same which Sir Isaac tells us † he had composed in a familiar and loose method, that it might be generally read ; but reflecting that his new principles (however solid) would hardly be able to make their way through confirmed prejudices, but by the force of demonstration, he altered his mind, and threw them into that form in which we now see them in the third book of

† Proem. ad Lib. 3. Prin.

**Art. 15. *the Republick of Letters.* 191**

his *Principia*. However, this book, as it is now translated; may be very useful to a great many who understand neither Latin nor Mathematicks well enough to read the other.

The Publisher has given us in the Preface a succinct account of the state in which Sir Isaac found astronomy, and the wonderful improvements made in it by that great philosopher. As it is very prettily written, 'tis the more surprising to find in it a notable and essential mistake. Having mentioned Kepler's great discovery, that the planets always describe areas proportional to the times, he explains it, as if the area that one planet describes in an hour, for instance, were equal to that which another describes in the same time; whereas the meaning is, that a planet describes in one hour an area equal to that which it describes in any other hour; so that it is to be compared only with it self at different times. But the Author being (it seems) warn'd of his error, has corrected it in a new edition of his Preface. However, he has still overlookt another, having all along mistaken sesquialteral ratio for sesquiplicate proportion. Instead of saying that the periodic times of the planets are in a sesquiplicate proportion of their distances from the center about which they revolve, he says, their distances and periodical times are in a sesquialteral ratio. 'Tis true, he explains it right; but an error in the expression is often of very dangerous consequence, as we daily see in our controversies; and poor F. Le Courayer and Professor Simson find it to their cost.

The Author introduces his subject, by observing that the Copernican system is so far from being a modern one, that it was taught by the greatest and most ancient philosophers ; that Numa Pompilius, as a symbol of the figure of the world, with the sun in the center, erected a temple in honour of *Vesta*, of a round shape, and ordained perpetual fire to be kept alive in the middle of it. These notions, he thinks, the Greeks learned, as they did every thing, from the Egyptians, who were early observers of the heavens. Some few indeed started up now and then, who would have the earth to possess the center of the world. Both sides however agreed, that the heavenly bodies moved in spaces altogether free and void of resistance ; the whim of solid orbs being of a later date, and never thought of till the fictions of the Greeks began to get the better of sound Philosophy. Comets, which by the Chaldeans were reckoned a particular sort of Planets moving in very eccentric orbits, were by these solid orbs thrust down below the Moon ; but being now restored to their ancient places, by late observations, have broke those orbs to pieces, and freed the heavens from that whimsical incumbrance.—Thus those notions which in one age are admired, and which people fight for as if all were at stake, are in another exploded and laught at. This is generally the just fate of hypotheses : But our Author builds upon a surer foundation, which will last as long as reason and the world.

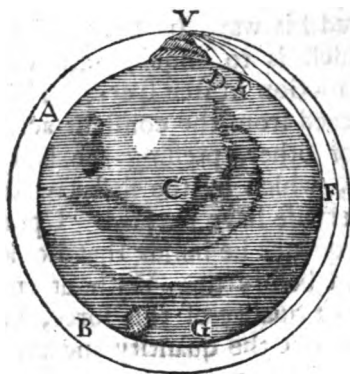
*Exegit monumentum ære perennius.* Hor.

Having



Having thus cleared his way, he proceeds to his main design, which is to enquire into the principle of circular motion in free spaces. This (he says) must proceed from the constant action of some force or other, pressing the body out of the right line, which by the first law of motion it would otherwise have pursued. Upon this undeniable consequence he builds that noble System of the World before us. Without entering into the nature or quality of this force, he proposes only to trace out the quantity and properties of it from the phænomena, and to apply what he discovers in simple cases, as principles for estimating the effects of it in such as are more involved. And therefore to avoid disputes, he calls it by the general name of centripetal force, as directed to some center, and circum-solar, circumterrestrial, &c. as directed to a particular one. This method must certainly be allowed to be more rational, than first to frame a romantic hypothesis, and then to cut and carve it, till it agree with the appearances of nature.

That the Planets may be retained in their orbits by centripetal forces, he illustrates by the motion of projectiles. A stone projected is by its own weight forced out of the right line, which by the projection alone, according to the first law of motion, it ought to have kept, and is made to describe a curve line in the air, till by degrees it comes to the ground. And the greater it's velocity, the further it goes.



Now let  $A F B$  represent the surface of the earth,  $C$  its center,  $V D$ ,  $V E$ ,  $V F$  the curve lines which a body would describe projected horizontally from the top of a high mountain  $V$ , successively with more and more velocity. And

because there is little or no resistance in the heavenly spaces, suppose that there is no air about the earth, or that it makes little or no resistance. Then, for the same reason that a body projected with a small velocity describes the arc  $V D$ , and with a greater velocity, the greater arc  $V E$ , and augmenting the velocity it goes farther to  $F$  and  $G$ ; if the velocity were still more and more augmented, it would reach at last quite beyond the circumference of the earth, and return to the mountain from whence it was thrown.

And since the areas it would describe by a radius drawn to the center of the earth are demonstrably proportional to the times, its velocity (when it returns to the mountain) will be no less than it was at first, and therefore it will describe the same curve over and over by the same law.

Now if we imagine bodies to be projected in directions parallel to the horizon, from heights of 5, 10, 100, 1000, or more miles, or rather semidiameters of the earth; these bodies, according

cording to their different velocity, and different gravity in different heights, will describe areas either concentric with the earth, or variously eccentric, and go on revolving through the heavens just as the planets do.

The Author goes on to show, that as the above described motion of projectiles is a proof of their gravitation to the earth, so the curvilinear motion of bodies in free spaces, and their constant deflexion from streight lines towards one point, is a certain mark of some force impelling them towards it. And, as from the supposition of gravity the above motion of projectiles unavoidably follows, so from the supposition of a force directed to any center, all bodies upon which it acts, must (while in motion) deviate continually from right lines towards it.

This is such a clear, easy, and natural explanation of the principle of gravitation, that I could not help transcribing it; in hopes it may convince some, who perhaps oppose it only because they do not understand it.

The Author having shown the absurd consequences of the diurnal motion of the stars round the earth standing still, comes closer to the point; and 1st, from astronomical observations, lays it down as certain, That the Moon by a radius drawn to the earth, the Satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, by radii drawn to those Planets, the five primary Planets and the Earth, by radii drawn to the Sun, all describe areas proportional to the times. 2. Having demonstrated in his *Principia* \*, that bodies moving in a curve, and describing round a point areas

\* Lib. 1. Prop. 2.

proportional to the times, by a radius drawn to that point, (whether it be fixed or moving) are constantly impelled by some force towards that point : from hence he infers, that there are centripetal forces directed to the body of the Sun, the Earth, Jupiter and Saturn. 3. He shows from observation, That the periodical times of all the Planets are in the sesquiquiplicate proportion of their mean distances from the centers about which they describe areas proportional to the times ; or that the squares of the periodical times are as the cubes of those distances. 4. Having demonstrated in his *Principia* \*, that if several bodies move equally in eccentric circles, and the squares of their periodic times be as the cubes of their distances from the common center ; or † if the orbits they move in be elliptical, then the centripetal forces of such bodies will be reciprocally as the squares of their distances : hence he infers, that the centripetal forces of the planets decrease in the duplicate proportion of their distances. 5. He shows that a body revolving near the surface of the earth supposed at rest, by means of a centripetal force, which should be to the same force at the distance of the moon, in the reciprocal duplicate proportion of the distances from the center of the earth, *i. e.* as 3600 to 1 would, secluding the resistance of the air, compleat a revolution in 1 h. 24'. 27". And suppose the circumference of the earth 123249600 Paris feet, as the French have calculated, that body deprived of circular motion, and falling by the impulse of its centripetal force, as before, would in one

\* Lib. I. Prop. 4. Corol. 6.

† Ib. Cor. 8.

second describe 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  Paris feet. 6. Seeing Mr. Huygens has demonstrated, that bodies falling with all that centripetal force, by which (of whatever nature it is) they are impelled near the surface of the earth, describe the same space in the same time; Sir Isaac concludes, that the centripetal forces in the planets, are no other than what upon earth we call Gravity. And who can deny such an evident consequence?

After many curious observations, such as that the Forces are always proportional to the quantity of matter in the body attracting, as well as to the quantity of matter in bodies attracted at equal distances; that the denser bodies are nearest the Sun, so that they may have a degree of heat suitable to their condition, and proper for their nourishment: Upon these principles he proceeds to explain the System of the World, and shows how accurately all calculations made upon them answer to the phænomena. Particularly, from thence he derives all the motions of the Moon, which Astronomers have hitherto observed, and which have so much perplexed them to account for, or to calculate, and also some other unequable motions, never taken notice of before he discovered them. He says that the area which the Moon, by a radius drawn to the Earth, describes in the several equal moments of time, is nearly equal to the sum of the number  $237\frac{1}{10}$  and versed sine of the double distance of the Moon from the nearest quadrature in a circle whose radius is unity; and therefore that the square of the Moon's distance from the Earth, is as that sum divided by the horary motion of the Moon. The computation by which he proves this, is in the 26th Prop. of the

the 3d book of his *Principia* ; but there the number is 219.46 instead of 237.3. From the motions of the Moon, he derives the motion of the Satellites of Jupiter and Saturn. From hence also he accounts for the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, with all the particularities of that surprizing phenomenon, which gave Aristotle so much pain : as also why those forces of the Sun and Moon are not sensible by any other effect, besides the tides they raise in the Sea. He shows that the body of the Moon is 6 times denser than the Sun, and denser than the Earth nearly as 3 to 2.

After having finished the System of the Planets, he rises to the fixt Stars, which, says he, are at such vast distances from the Sun and from each other, that they cannot be attracted by the one or the other. The Comets he places beyond the Moon ; but says that when they are visible to us, they descend into the orbit of Jupiter, nay even of the Earth ; and proves they are acted on by the circumsolar force. He gives a curious computation of the rarity of the Air at all distances from the Earth, and shows that a sphere of that Air which is nearest it, if dilated with an equal rarefaction with that at the distance of 10 semidiameters of the Earth, would fill up more space than is contained in the whole Heavens on this side the fixed Stars. He shows that Comets move in parabolas, or ellipses near to parabolas, having one focus in the center of the Sun, and (by radii drawn to the Sun) describe areas proportional to the times. He concludes with a method for investigating the trajectory of a Comet, different from that in his *Principia*.

The

The reader of this book will find his pains well rewarded. Among the many curious passages in it, I beg leave to subjoin one.

“ It may be, says he, that the remote planets,  
 “ for want of heat, have not those metallic sub-  
 “ stances and ponderous minerals with which  
 “ our earth abounds; and that the bodies of  
 “ Venus and Mercury, as they are more expo-  
 “ sed to the sun’s heat, are also harder baked  
 “ and more compact. For from the experi-  
 “ ment of the burning-glass, we see that the  
 “ heat increases with the density of light. And  
 “ this density increases in the reciprocal duplicate  
 “ proportion of the distance from the Sun. From  
 “ whence the Sun’s heat in Mercury is proved  
 “ to be sevenfold it’s heat in our summer sea-  
 “ sons. But with this heat our water boils;  
 “ and those heavy fluids, quicksilver and the  
 “ spirits of vitriol, gently evaporate, as I have  
 “ tried by the thermometer. And therefore  
 “ there can be no fluids in Mercury, but what  
 “ are heavy, and able to bear great heat, and  
 “ from which substances of great density may  
 “ be nourished?

“ And why not? If God has placed different  
 “ bodies at different distances from the Sun, so  
 “ as the denser bodies always possess the nearer  
 “ places, and each body enjoys a degree of  
 “ heat suitable to its condition, and proper for  
 “ its nourishment.

One cannot read this System of the World,  
 without adoring that wonderful Power, Wis-  
 dom and Goodness, that displays it self every-  
 where around us, and without admiration of that  
 surprizing Genius who first opened the glorious  
 scene

scene to our view ; who durst and could pierce into the counsels of the most High.

*Nec fas est propius mortali attingere divos. \**



## A R T I C L E XVI.

THE HISTORY and Antiquities of the Abbey and Church of Feverham in Kent; of the adjoining Priory of Davington, and Maison-Dieu of Ospringe, and Parish of Bocton subtus le Bleyne. To which is added a Collection of Papers relating to the Abbey, &c. and of the funeral Monuments and other ancient Inscriptions in the several Churches of Feverham, Shelwich, Bocton under the Bleyne, Ospringe, Graveney and Throwley, with the charitable Benefactions thereto given. Printed 1727. pag. 160 in 4to.

**T**his an observation of the great Lord Bacon †, That Antiquities are as it were the planks of a shipwreck, which industrious and wise men snatch up and preserve from the

\* Dr. Halley's Poem on Sir I. Newton.

† De Augment. Scient.



deluge of time. The Author of this book is Mr. John Lewis ; who tells us in his Preface, that it is a collection from Southouse's *Monasticon Favresham*, and the MS Papers of Mr. Filmer, Mr. Lees, and Mr. Nic. Batteley ; to which he has added some observations and collections of his own, funeral monuments, ancient inscriptions, and an account of pious and charitable benefactions, given to the parishes mentioned in the title. He observes that the Papists most unjustly upbraid us with having been very defective in such donations, ever since we reformed ; for that we have exceeded them, both in the value and application of our charities. The learned Wicliffe objected to the Popish Prelates of his time †, “ That they deceived poor men of their  
 “ alms, in making them give their necessary  
 “ livelihood to their Cathedral Churches that  
 “ had no need ; to the curiosity of gay win-  
 “ dows, and colours, and paintings, and bab-  
 “ wyries, and to finding wax to burn before  
 “ images, to the neglect of doing their alms  
 “ to their poor neighbours, that were bed-rid,  
 “ feeble, and crooked, and blind, and therwith  
 “ had nought of their own.” So *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed* represents a Friar as wheedling out of his money

*A pure pore man, that may onethe \* paye  
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben bybynde,*

with such words as these ;

*And mighten thou amenden || us with money of thyn  
 [owen  
 Thou shouldest knele before Christ in compass of gold,*

† Life of Dr. Wicliffe.

\* hardly.

|| help.

*In*

*In the wyde wyndow wel neigh in the mydel,  
 And Saint Francis bymyselfe shall folden the in his  
 And present the to the Trynite, and pray for thy [Cope,  
 Thy name shall noblich ben wryten and wrought for [synnes;  
 And in remembrance of the yrad† there for ever.*

Here we see the true original of our fine painted glass-windows. But our alms are now better directed, says the Author, to feed the hungry, and cloath the naked, and to entertain the sick and the stranger.

In his first chapter, he tells us that the Abbey of Feversham was founded in 1149 by Queen Maud, and endowed *de hæreditate Reginae*: King Stephen was buried in it in 1154. Godfrey of Boulogne, a relation of the King's, having sent him a piece of the holy cross, in honour of it this monastery was founded and named St. Saviour's of Feversham. The place was first called *Favres-feld*; but when it came to be built on, it's name was changed into Faversham, *i. e.* fair or beautiful house or town. The Monks were of the Benedictin Order of Cluni in France. These Monks, though they lived under the order of St. Bennet, and wore a black habit, yet differed in many things from the other Benedictins. The preparations they used in making the bread that was to serve for the sacrifice of the altar, were very singular. They picked the wheat grain by grain, (a sign they had not much to do) and washed it very

\* nonce, purpose.

† read.

carefully. Then a trusty servant carried it to the mill in a bag appointed for that use only, washed the mill-stones, and covered them above and below with curtains, and having put on an *Albe* (or Surplice) he covered his face with a veil, leaving nothing but his eyes to be seen. The meal was not suffered to be sifted, till the sieve had been first well washed, and the Guardian of the Church (if he was either Deacon or Priest) performed the rest with the assistance of other two Religious in the same orders, and a Lay-brother expressly nominated for that purpose. These four Religious, when mattins were ended, washed their hands and faces; the three first put on surplices; one washed the meal with fair water, and the other two baked the Hosties in an iron mold.—Silence was so strictly observed by those of this order, that they would rather have died than break it before the hour of *Prime*. During the hours of silence, they made use of signs instead of words. Young people were educated among them with the same care, and had the same education given them, that the children of Princes could have in the palaces of their fathers: they served as choiristers, and wore the monastic habit.

Though K. Stephen and his Queen appointed the Monks to be of this order, yet because they would not have this Abbey to be in the nature of a Cell, and in subjection to another which was not in their own dominions, they procured Letters of Absolution from the then Abbot of Cluni, discharging those of Feversham from all obedience and subjection to him and his successors. These Monks were in number 12, besides the Abbot, in imitation of Christ and the 12 Apostles. The Archbishops both claimed and exer-

exercised a right to visit this Abbey ; tho' Mat. Paris insinuates, they had none to visit either this, or any other of the order of Cluni ; which, it was pretended, were subject to the Provincial or General Chapter only.

As this Abbey was of royal foundation, and the Abbots held the estate belonging to it in chief, and *per Baroniam*, they were at first called to Parliament. Mr. Selden \* has shown they were called to 12 several Parliaments in the reigns of Edward I. and II. and probably also in the preceding reigns ; but that about the end of Edw. II.'s reign, they began to leave out of the Summons such spiritual Persons, as being Regulars, or beneath that rank, held not in chief ; and thereupon some also that held *per Baroniam*, were excluded either by discharge, or the like omission ; and among the rest the Abbot of Feversham, who was never called to Parliament after the 18th of Edw. II. 1325. However, he still kept a place in Convocation, next to the Abbot of St. Austin's near Canterbury, and was commonly called my Lord Abbot.

From this Abbey, the King (as the Founder) challenged one *Corrody* for his *Vadelett*, or *Valett*, *i. e.* a sum of money, or allowance of meat or drink due to the King from an Abbey, or other House of Religion founded by him, toward the reasonable sustenance of one of his servants, upon whom he should bestow it. Upon the Abbot's death, the King also challenged the custody of the Temporalties during the vacancy, the Abbot's Ring, the Cup he used to drink in, his Palfry or Pad, his kennel of Hounds, and the right of naming his Successor. For this pur-

\* Titles of Hon. part 2. ch. 5.

pose he had the Abbot's ring, which with the pastoral staff, (if he had any, or was a mitred Abbot) he delivered to the person whom he nominated. This right of investiture, claimed and exercised by our Princes, was very much controverted by the Religious, and K. Henry I. is said to have given it up. But among K. John's Charters, we find a Grant to the E. of Pembroke of the advowson or patronage of the Abbey of Neutlega, which was in the Earl's fee; and by this his charter, he confirmed to him and his heirs, *donationem vacante pastoralis Abbacie de Neutlega*. By the 12th Constitution of the Council of Clarendon, 1164, in the reign of K. Henry II. it was provided, That on the vacancy of an Abbey or Priory *de Dominio Regis*, the choice of a Successor should be made in the King's Chapel, *assensu Domini Regis, & consilio personarum regni, quas ad hoc faciendum vocaverit*; and that there the elect should do homage and fidelity to the Lord King as to his Liege Lord, of his life and limbs, and earthly honour, before he was consecrated, or had the Archbishop's benediction. Long after this, K. Henry VII. in his writ to restore the Temporalities to Abbot Castelocke, affirmed this Abbey to have been of his patronage.

The Author proceeds to give a list of all the Abbots, till the dissolution of this Monastery by Henry VIII. upon occasion of which he observes, among other reasons for suppressing of Religious Houses, that out of 60211 Knights fees that were found in England at the Conquest, these Houses had made themselves masters of 28015, which is almost one half.

In the second chapter, he gives an account of the estate and revenues of this Abbey. Among other things, he mentions the oyster-fisheries at Ore, Harting and Feverham, which belonged to it, and are now very eminent ; vast quantities being every year fetched from hence by the Dutch, who were reckoned in M. Southouse's time to buy to the value of 2000 or 2500 pounds yearly. The Author says, he has been told that the profits arising from these oysters has amounted in one year to 7000 pound. There are a great many families in Feverham, who have their sole dependance upon these fisheries ; among whom it is an ancient and a pleasant custom enough, that none can be free of them, who are not married men. The estate of the Abbey, at its dissolution, was but 286 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* *ob. per Annum.*

In the third chapter, the Author treats of the franchises and privileges of this Abbey : viz. 1. The privilege of Sanctuary : 2. of Sepulture : 3. of granting Letters of Fraternity : by all which the Monks considerably increased their wealth.

The custom of flying to the Church for sanctuary, was taken from the Jews, among whom offenders used to fly to the altar, and catch hold of its horns †. It is said to have been introduced into the Christian Church as early as the time of Constantine the Great, and was more peculiarly annexed to the Lord's Table. It was afterwards extended to the Body of the Church, and by the Theodosian code to the Precincts of

† 1 Kings ii. 28.

it, viz. the houses and lodgings of the Bishops and Clergy, and to their gardens, baths, courts and cloysters.

Some religious Houses had the privilege of being Sanctuaries for life, others for 40 days only. Which of the two this Abbey enjoyed, is not certain. A felon, if a layman, might be taken from his sanctuary by force after 40 days ; but within that time he might send for a Justice of the Peace and the Coroner, and before them abjure the realm ; upon which they assigned him a certain port to take shipping in : thither he was obliged to go directly, without turning out of the highway, carrying a cross in his hand, to show that he was under the protection of the Church. He was to tarry at the port but one flood and ebb, if he could have passage ; and till he could get it, he was to go every day up to his knees in the sea, as assaying to go out of the kingdom ; and if he could not get passage within the 40 days, he was to return again to the Church. Whoever laid violent hands on a person in sanctuary, was severely fined ; and in 1261, Archbishop Boniface made it sacrilege. This privilege was very much abused, especially by the Clergy ; whom, though they had only the first tonsure, the law could not touch any farther, than to order them to be kept in the Bishop's prisons, *salva sibi vita & membris* ; where they were to enjoy the ecclesiastical liberty, or be delivered to the Bishop to be tried. On which William of Newborough observes, that the Clergy going thus unpunished, feared neither God nor man ; and as an instance of it, K. Henry the II<sup>d</sup>'s Judges intimated to him, that many thefts, rapines and homicides, were committed by them ; and that in about nine

P 8

years

years space, they had killed above an hundred men.

2. The Monks were paid very largely for breaking the holy ground of their Churches and Cloysters, and had besides the art of turning the graves into shrines, and received a present under the name of an *offering*, for every visit made to them.

3. The Abbot &c. of this Abbey granted *Letters of Fraternity*, by which the persons who were favoured with them were made partakers, both in their lives, and at their deaths, of all the masses, orisons, fasts, alms, abstinencies, watchings, austerities, and other meritorious and good deeds done by the Brethren of the order. They worked the poor superstitious people into a belief, that the masses of these Recluses were more effectual to their salvation, than even their own most fervent prayers; so that happy were they who could at any rate purchase these Letters.

The 4th chapter gives an account of the Bree School of Feversham; and the 5th, of the Church, which seems to be older than the Conquest. The Author gives a full relation of the great dispute between K. John and the Monks of St. Austin, about the advowson of this Church, which came at last to downright force: however, the Monks got the better of the King at last. In this Church was the altar of the famed St. Erasmus, whom the Catholics made equal to our Saviour, and prayed to him in the same terms. Our Author gives an abstract of his Legend, which, because it is very curious, I cannot help inserting here. “ This Erasmus “ then (’tis said) was bishop of Antioch during “ the reign of Diocletian, which began in 284, “ and



“ and that of Maximian. Hearing of the per-  
 “ secution of the Christians by Diocletian, he  
 “ fled from Antioch, and betook himself to an  
 “ hermitage in Mount Libanus, where he dwelt  
 “ seven years, praying to God day and night,  
 “ and working many miracles. His food was  
 “ brought him from heaven by a raven ; Angels  
 “ used to converse with him ; divers wild beasts  
 “ also came into his cell, and laid themselves  
 “ down at his feet. At last a voice came from  
 “ heaven, saying, *Erasmus, go down to thy city;*  
 “ on which he immediately arose, and went  
 “ down to it. Upon his arrival, many who  
 “ were vexed with unclean spirits met him, on  
 “ whom he laid his hands, and forthwith they  
 “ were healed. Many also by baptism he turn-  
 “ ed unto the Lord. Diocletian hearing this,  
 “ orders St. Erasmus to be apprehended, and  
 “ brought before him ; and having asked him  
 “ who, and whence he was, the Saint replied,  
 “ he was a Christian. Erasmus was young and  
 “ beautiful, not only in mind, but in body.  
 “ His countenance was angelical, his eyes like  
 “ the rays of the sun, and his discourse per-  
 “ fectly inoffensive. Nevertheless the writer  
 “ tells us, that Erasmus upbraided Diocletian  
 “ with being like the stones and stocks he wor-  
 “ shipped, and called him and Maximian *rave-*  
 “ *nous wolves, the seducers of souls, impious bang-*  
 “ *men, wicked dragons, fools, &c.* Upon this  
 “ the Emperor ordered him to be tortured ; but  
 “ he bore it so patiently, that Diocletian said  
 “ he was a conjurer. For though his back was  
 “ beat with clubs, there was not so much as a  
 “ spot to be seen : nay, when melted lead,  
 “ pitch, brimstone and rosin, with wax and  
 “ oil, were poured on him, he was so far from  
 “ being

“ being scalded or hurt, that he was refreshed  
 “ thereby ; infomuch that all the people cried  
 “ out, *Let this man go ; for the God of the Chri-*  
 “ *stians is with him.* All of a sudden was felt  
 “ a great earthquake, accompanied with thun-  
 “ der and lightning, whereby almost a third  
 “ part of the people were struck with death.  
 “ Then he was clapt up in prison, and three-  
 “ score iron weights put on his neck and  
 “ hands ; but the iron melted like wax, and  
 “ Erasmus was delivered out of prison by an  
 “ Angel, who performed his part so dextrously,  
 “ as not to break even the seal which the Em-  
 “ peror had put on the door. The Angel set  
 “ Erasmus down in a place, which the Ro-  
 “ mance calls *Lugrido* in Italy. Here he bap-  
 “ tized many, and cured the sick and the blind ;  
 “ which Maximian hearing, he also ordered  
 “ Erasmus to be brought before him, and led  
 “ him into the Temple of Jupiter, to see the  
 “ God whom he served : but as soon as the De-  
 “ vil espied Erasmus, the statue fell down, and  
 “ crumbled into dust, and out of it issued a  
 “ great dragon, which slew almost a third part  
 “ of the people. Whereupon many of them  
 “ cried out, *O thou holy servant of God, pray*  
 “ *for us, that we be not destroyed by this dragon.*  
 “ Then the Emperor tried Erasmus with great  
 “ variety of torments, and particularly ordered  
 “ a brasse coat, fire hot, to be put upon him ;  
 “ but without any effect. He was upon this  
 “ clapt into prison, and delivered as before. But  
 “ notwithstanding all this, he died at last.

’Tis observable however, that this famous Saint  
 is not to be found in the *Lombardic History*, or  
*Legenda aurea Sanctorum* ; so that he seems to  
 be but a new-invented Saint.

Here

Here was also the altar of St. Crispin and St. Crispina, who to avoid the persecution raised by the Emperor Maximine, fled from Rome into Great Britain, and dwelt at Feversham, where they learnt to make shoes for a livelihood, and followed that trade for some time at a house in *Preston-street*, near the sign of the Swan; which had many visits made to it in M. Southouse's time, by the Gentlemen of that Calling.

In the 6th chapter, he treats of the Nunnery of Davington, or Dainton. It was founded by one *Fulke de Newingham*, four years after the Abbey of Feversham. The Nuns were stiled, *The Nuns of St. Mary Magdalen of Davington*; and because their Estate was but small, *The poor Nuns of Davington*. Their habit was a black-coat, cloak, coul, and vail.

The two last chapters treat of the *Maison Dieu* at *Ospringe*, and of the *Parish of Boston*.



## A R T I C L E XVII.

A LETTER to the Author of The present State of the Republick of Letters, concerning the Greek Accents.

[*This, the ingenious Writer acquaints me, is intended as a Specimen of a larger Performance, which will quickly follow, if this Coup d'Essay should meet with a favourable*

reception from the Learned, as I do not doubt  
but it will.]

S I R,

**I** Remember that Dr. Barnes, at his death, left amongst his *Opera inedita* an answer to Henninius the Dutchman, in vindication of the Greek accents : but whether or no those persons who had the care and inspection of his Papers after his decease, thought his reasons not to be weighty enough, or whether he himself in his lifetime left orders against the publication of them, or what other cause there might be for that omission, I know not ; but I believe that piece never saw the light. It were to be wished, indeed, that we had seen this great Man's sentiments upon that nice and critical Subject ; and the more, since notwithstanding the generality of the Learned allow the use of the present Greek accents in reading, yet many people have of late fallen into the opinion of Henninius. Whether or no this Author is in the right, I shall not at present take upon me to determine ; but, I presume, I may be allowed to say, that many of his arguments do not seem to me to carry that weight with 'em that some persons may imagine. This Dissertation of his was chiefly intended as an explication and defence of a small piece published by Isaac Vossius, intitled, *De Græcanicis Accentibus Sententia* \*, which every one that reads them both, may easily perceive was the basis and foundation of Henninius's performance.

\* J. Chr. Henninius in 'Ελληνισμὸς Ὁρθῶς. H. Vossius de Græc. Ac. Sent.

Any

Any person who reads these pieces with the least attention, will observe that the opinion maintained therein is built upon these three suppositions. First, that the long vowels among the Greeks are always to be pronounced long, and the short ones short. Secondly, that the manner of pronunciation, in prose and verse, was always the same. Thirdly, that the words *Προσωπία*, *ἔξυπνος*, &c. mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and other ancient Greek writers, are only to be understood of musical notes; and that even in the time of Antoninus Pius, and long after, our present accentuation was entirely unknown. Nay, Henninius ventures to assert, that it was introduced by the Arabians a considerable time after Mahomet's death.

As to the first supposition; these Gentlemen ought, in order to have evinced the probability of it, to have told us what vowels were long, and what short; since supposing (according to their own method) that we must be determined by verse in this particular, *α*, *ι*, *υ*, are both long and short; *ω*, often long, but sometimes short, viz. in such verses as these:

— *ἄεγοντα δὲ σ' ὄντις ἔρυσσε*

*Φαίηκων\* μηδ' ἔτω φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο.*

Odyss. Rhap. H. ver. 315.

Besides, *Η* was anciently no letter among the Greeks, but only a note of aspiration, as we are assured by Athenæus\*, and may be confirmed by several ancient Greek coins, where we

\* Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 9.

find *HEKATON* pro *EKATON*, &c. And † *Plato* himself asserts the same thing. 'Tis likewise universally agreed among the Learned, that the *Ω* is of late date, as being first introduced by *Simonides*, not 400 years before Christ. *E*, *o*, are often short, but sometimes long, viz. in such verses as these :

Δδς μὴ Ὀδυσῆα πολυπόροισιν ὄνυσ' ἐκίχες.

Odyss. Rhap. I. ver. 530.

The second supposition shall only just be mentioned, since every one will easily allow that the Greek prose and poetry are in a manner two different Languages, and that the verse is much more musical and harmonious, much more calculated to please the ear, and consequently that the syllables must be modulated and pronounced far otherwise in the one, than in the other.

• Before I proceed to the third supposition, it will be proper to premise, that in order to confute these Gentlemen, we are under no necessity of proving the apices or characters to be very ancient, (though 'tis probable that even these are much ancients than they will allow) but only the sounds and pronunciation represented by them ; since both *Henninius* and *Vossius* absolutely assert, that the Greek tongue is not to be pronounced according to them. The word *Προσῳδία* then, which the Grammarians translate *Accentus*, we allow (with *Henninius* and *Vossius*) signifies *Cantus*, *Cantilenæ*, &c. very often among the old writers. So *Hesychius* explains it : *Προσῳδία ἐστὶ μὴ Ὀργάνῳ ὀδῇ*. And *Suidas* calls it *ὕμνος* ; yet it does not follow

† Plat. in *Cratyl.* Οὐ γὰρ, *H*, ἐξώμεθα ἀλλὰ, *E*, τὸ παλαιόν.

from

from hence, that this must be the only signification of that word. Nay, we are assured by \* Gellius, that it signified among the Antients sometimes an Accent (or *Accentus*.) I shall only produce one Author more, who, in my Opinion, entirely overthrows this last supposition, and that is † Athenæus. Τρύφων ἢ φησὶ τὸ λαγὼν ἐπ' αἰπαπῆς ἐν Δαναΐσιν Λεισοφάνης ὄξύτωνος. Which Dalecampius has render'd τὸν λαγὼν, *Quod, ait Tryphon, Aristophanes in Danaidibus accusandi Casu acuto notavit Accentu.* And If. Casaubon (in the margin) observes, that this Tryphon was a Grammarian, cited often by this Author, and so in all probability must have lived some time before him. In the same page he goes on; Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν κυριαρχικῷ χωρίῳ τῷ, ν, λαγῶ καὶ περισπωμένῳ, ὅτι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄξυ λαγῶς. "Ὡστε ἢ ναδὼν λαγόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκείνοι φασὶ ναῶν, καὶ λαδὼν λαῶν, ἢ τῶ λαγὼν ὀνομαζόντων, ἐκείνοι λαγὼν ἔρυσσι. *Xenophon, libro de Venatione, λαγῶ dixit absq; ν, Accentu circumflexo. Nos enim λαγῶς nominandi Casu dicimus, Ἐτ' accusandi Casu λαγὼν, veluti ναδὼν λαδὼν. Quod Athenienses λαγὼν, ναῶν, λαῶν, cum ω. And again; ἐστὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλόγως χεῖρ τ. πελδωτῆ συλλαβῇ περισπωμένῳ περιέχον.* Δεῖ ἢ ὄξύτωνον τὸ λείξιν. Ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς, ος, λήγοντα τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμότῳα ὄξυ, καὶ μεταληθῆναι εἰς τὸ, ω, παρ' Ἀπικῶν, ναδς, καλδς, ναῶς, καλῶς. Ὅπως δ' ἐχρήσατο τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Ἐπίχαρμῳ καὶ Ἡρόδω, καὶ ὁ τὸς ἔειλωτες ποιήσας. *Quidam præter rationem borum, ultimam syllabam cum Accentu circumflexo proferunt. Nam cum Ac-*

\* Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 13. c. 6. Quas Græci Περισωδέας dicunt, eas veteres docti, tum notas vocum, tum modamenta, tum accentuunculas, tum voculationes appellabant.

† Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 9. p. 409. Ed. Casaub. 1611.

*centu acuto dictio pronuncianda est, quandoquidem quæ Vocabula in  $\omega$  finiunt, etiam si ab Atticis in  $\omega$  mutantur, retinent tamen eundem Accentum, ut  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ . Sic Herodotus videlicet usus est hoc nomine; sic Epicharmus, & qui Eilotas composuit.*

There are many other passages in this Author, (particularly one in the 11th book) which prove the same thing; but I chose this, because it seems to me to be as full and expressive as any thing can be: nor can I conceive how any of the Followers of Henrinius and Vossius can elude the force of it; for, 'tis plain, that this has no manner of relation to Musick, but to Grammar.

Tryphon was a Grammarian, who lived before Athenæus; and he himself flourished in the time of Antoninus Pius, *An. Cbr.* 165. And we find that the *Greek Accents* were common in those days: nay, the very Accents that are used at this day; as may be very naturally inferred from the last passage, where we find the words  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\nu\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon$ , &c. so accented as they are at this time; and the rule there laid down, is as valid now as it was in the time of Athenæus. This, in my opinion, sufficiently confutes the third supposition, viz. that when the ancient Greek writers use the terms *Περασῆαι*, &c. they mean only *musical Notes*, not those *Accents* which almost all Greek Grammarians at this time approve of; and that our present Accents were entirely unknown in the time of Antoninus Pius.

This I give to you only *en passant*; neither am I so vain as to imagine my self capable of deciding this Controversy: but if what is advanced



vanced here be allowed to be of any force, it will be an easy matter to prove the *Greek Accents* to be (at least) much ancients than some persons believe them to be; and many probable arguments may be offered in vindication of Dr. Barnes's hypothesis, which I have not time so much as to hint at in this place.

*I am, S I R,*

Wadham Coll. Oxon.  
Febr. 21. 1728.

*Your humble Servant,*

W. X.



## ARTICLE XVIII.

*A COLLECTION of several Pieces of Mr. JOHN TOLAND, now first published from his original MSS; with some Memoirs of his Life and Writings. London: printed for J. Peele, at Locke's Head in Pater-noster-row. 1726. in two Volumes 8vo. Vol. I. pagg. 566. Vol. II. pagg. 570.*

**T**his the common effect of prejudice against those who differ from us too widely, either in Religion or Politicks, to strip them at once of every commendable quality. This seems to have been very much Mr. Toland's case. I would

would not be hereby understood to justify either his opinions, or his conduct in those *religious* disputes, wherein he was (unfortunately for himself) engaged with some of the greatest men of his time ; yet surely nothing but the unfairest partiality can hinder us from allowing him to have been a Gentleman of great natural parts, and acquired knowledge. Whoever examines the Pieces contained in this Collection, will own that I do him no more than justice. The first of them is : *A Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning ; containing an account of the DRUIDS, or the Priests and Judges ; of the VAIDS, or the Diviners and Physicians ; and of the BARDS, or the Poets and Heralds of the antient Gauls, Britons, Irish and Scots. With the History of ABAKIS the HYPERBOREAN, Priest of the Sun ; in three Letters to the Right Hon. the LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.*

Having observed in my Extract of *La Religion des Gaulois*, that it was strange an Author treating on that subject should take no notice of the curious Collections made by Mr. Toland from the Monuments of Great Britain and Ireland, where that Religion is owned to have flourished in its greatest purity, and to have continued longest ; I the rather chuse to give the substance of these three Letters in this place, and hope it will prove no disagreeable sequel of the abovementioned Extract, especially to those who desire to be acquainted with the Antiquities of our native Country.

The title of this piece shows that the Author intended a *Critical History of the Celtic Religion* ; but he died before he could finish it.

He observes that no heathen Priesthood ever came up to that of the Druids, which was by much the best calculated to beget ignorance and implicit faith in the people, as well as to procure profit and power to the Priests; and infinitely exceeded that of Zoroaster, and all the Eastern sacred Policy: so that, says he, *the History of the Druids* is, in short, *the complete History of Priestcraft*, with all its reasons and resorts. The Author here gives a short, but curious account of their Ecclesiastical Politicks; which, it must be owned, fully answer his character of them. He adds, that without any consciousness of vanity, he thinks himself much abler to retrieve the Religion of the Druids, than Dr. Hyde was to restore that of the Persians, as having infinitely better helps in many respects.

1. *His skill in the Celtic Dialects*, which are now chiefly six: viz. *Welsh, Cornish, Armorican*, or the language of *Bretagne*, *Irish, Manks*, or the language of the Isle of *Man*, and *Earse*, or the Highland language. Without the knowledge of these, he says, the Gallic antiquities can never be well understood. Of this, among others, he gives the following example. Lucian relates, that in Gaul he saw Hercules represented like a little old Man, (whom, in the language of the country, they called *Ogmios*) drawing after him an infinite multitude of people (who seemed to follow him very willingly) by very fine and almost imperceptible chains, fastened at one end to their ears, the other not being held in either of Hercules's hands, which were otherwise employed, but tied to the tip

of his tongue, in which there was an hole on purpose, where all those chains centered. Lucian wondering at such a figure of *Hercules*, was informed by a learned Druid, who stood by, that *Hercules* did not in Gaul (as in Greece) betoken *strength of body*, but *the force of eloquence*. The Critics of all nations, says our Author, have racked themselves in vain to find the meaning of the epithet *Ogmios*. Bochart \* would have it to be an oriental word. Dr. Dickenson † fancied *Hercules Ogmios* to be *Joshua*, as if he had that name from his conquering Og King of Bashan. But Mr. Toland proves from many old Irish MSS. that the word is purely *Celtic*, with a Greek termination; that *Ogum*, *Ogam* or *Ogma* (for it is written all these ways) signified in Ireland the *secret of Letters*, or the *Irish Alphabet*, and consequently the Learning that depends upon them, from whence *the force of eloquence*; that it is one of the ancientest words in the Irish language, and stood originally for this notion alone; and for the truth of this, he appeals to all the Irish books, without a single exception, and that it is used by the best modern writers in this sense: particularly *William O Donell*, afterward Bishop of *Tuam*, in his preface to the Irish New Testament, dedicated to K. James I. and printed at Dublin in 1602, speaking of one of his assistants, says, that *he enjoined him to write according to the ogum and propriety of the Irish tongue*. Hence, says he, it is clear, that *Hercules Ogmios* among the Gauls, (of whom the Irish had their language as well as

\* Geog. sacr. part 2. c. 42.

† Delph. Phœnicizant. c. 3.

their

their religion) signified *Hercules the learned, or protector of learning.*

**II. The Traditions of the Irish, Highlanders, &c.** of which we shall see some instances as we go along.

**III. Mr. Toland** tells us there are also a great number of ancient MSS. undoubtedly genuine, besides such as are forged or interpolated, several whereof are in Ireland, some in England, and others in the Irish Monasteries abroad. In short, says he, the Irish have incomparably more ancient materials of this kind for their history, than any other European nation whatever; which is owing to the care, or rather superstition of the Irish, in preserving their old books and parchments, even after they are become wholly unintelligible. 'Tis true, it was a maxim with the Druids, to commit no part of their philosophy or theology to writing, that they might the more easily lead the people blindfold, by interpreting and altering their doctrines according to times and circumstances: and this was a much more politick contrivance, than that of locking up a book from the laity, which some way or other will at last come out. However, our Author says, they were great writers in other respects. Besides, as they had a great influence over civil affairs, the Bards and Historians could not avoid recording a great many particulars relating to them, their doctrines and rites.

**IV. Monuments of stone or other materials,** still remaining in Britain and Ireland. On the tops of mountains or eminences in Ireland, Wales,

MARCH 1728.

Q

Scot-

Scotland, the Scottish Isles, and that of *Man*, there are great heaps of stone, like the *ἑσπεία*, or *Mercurial heaps* of the Greeks. They consist of stones of all sorts; from one pound weight to 100 : they are round in form, somewhat tapering upwards, with a large flat stone on the top. Some of them contain above 100 cart-loads of stones. Such a heap is in the ancient *Celtic*, and in every dialect of it, called *Carn*. On the *Carn* called *Crig-y-dryn* in Caermarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is 3 yards long, 5 foot over, and 10 or 12 inches thick. The circumference of this *Carn* at bottom is 60 yards, its height 6 yards, the ascent being very easy. These *Carns* came in process of time to be used for beacons, but they were originally designed for fires of another nature, which the Druids kindled upon them on May-eve in honour of *Beal* or *Bealan*, and with a Latin termination *Belenus* †, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the *Sun*. Hence May-day is to this hour called *La Bealteine*, or *the day of Belen's fire* by the native Irish, the Scotch Highlanders, and in the Isle of Man, and *Belten* all over the Lowlands of Scotland; and in *Armorica* a Priest is still called *Belec*. The vulgar in the islands never come to these *Carns*, but they walk thrice round them from East to West, according to the course of the sun, and think it a crime to remove any of the stones. Two such fires, as have been mentioned, were kindled by one another on May eve, in every village throughout all Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining Islands. Between these, the men and beasts to be sacrificed were made to pass; whence came

† Herodian. Aulon. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Gruter. & Reines. Inscript.

the proverb, *Between Bel's two fires*, applied to one in a great strait, not knowing how to extricate himself. On the eve of the first of November, such fires were also kindled, accompanied with sacrifices and feasting; and on that eve, all private fires were utterly extinguished, and every master of a family bound in conscience to carry some of the consecrating fire home, in order to kindle fire anew in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay however for his future happiness, whatever the event should prove; and if that same fire burnt his house down, he was to look upon it as the punishment of some new sin, and not impute it to the want of virtue in the holy fire, or in the benediction of the Druid; who, from officiating at the *Carn*, was called also *Cairneach*, a name that continued to signify a Priest, even after Christianity was introduced. But if any man had not cleared with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of the holy fire, nor durst any one let such a person take the benefit of his fire, under pain of excommunication, which, as they ordered it, was worse than death. If he would brew therefore, or bake, or roast, or boil, in short, if he would keep himself or his family from starving, both by hunger and cold, the Druid's dues must be paid by the last of October: so that this trick alone was worth a thousand acts of parliament for recovering the dues of the Clergy. As to this Fire-worship, which (says our Author) prevailed over all the world, the Celtic nations kindled others on Midsummer eve; and they are still continued by the Irish Papists, who make them in all their grounds, and carry flaming brands about their

corn-fields. This is also practised in France, and some of the Scottish Isles. The design of the Midsummer fires and sacrifices were to procure a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now ready for gathering; as those on May-day, that they might prosperously grow; and those on the last of October, were a thanksgiving for finishing their harvest. New-year's day, or the 10th of March, was their ivth great festival, on which they fought, cut and consecrated their wonder-working *All-beal*, or missestoe of the oak.

Mr. Toland observes here, by the by, that as the Greeks borrowed many words from the Barbarians, for which Plato (in his *Cratylus*) judges it would be lost time to seek etymologies in their own language; so it is not, he thinks, improbable that the feasts of Apollo, called *Carnæa* by the Greeks, may be among that number; and that both the solemnity and the name may have been derived from the *Carns* of the Gauls. Both were in honour of Apollo, who was surnamed *Carnus*; and both celebrated in *May*, from thence called the *Carnean* month. There were *Carnean* Priests; and a particular kind of Music, which he interprets *Carn-tunes*, was appropriated to these festivals, perfectly answering those of the Celtic tribes. Besides, the Gauls conquered Greece, and settled in many parts of it. The Greeks might learn these things from them, or from some of their own travellers in Gaul; or from the Phocæan colony at Marfeilles. All this put together is very favourable to his conjecture; which though it be indeed a little singular, seems nevertheless to be better founded than many criticisms that are received with applause by the learned. He adds, that



that as rewards were conferred on the best performers in Musick at the *Carnean* solemnities among the Greeks, so the British and Irish Histories assure us, that it was usual among the Celtic colonies to distribute prizes to the best Poets.

He takes this opportunity to give us another criticism relating to Apollo. In the Lordship of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a stone with an Inscription to APOLLO GRANNUS. *Grian*, says he, was one of the Celtic names of the Sun, and is still the common name of it in Irish; and from its beams, *Greannach* in the same language signifies *long-haired*, which is a natural epithet of the Sun in all nations. Now the Romans very commonly added to their own names of the Gods, those by which they were worshipped in the countries where they sojourned. Cambden indeed, in his *Description of Scotland*, understood this epithet of Apollo right; but his reason for explaining it so, was, that Isidore calls the long hair of the Goths *Grannos*. But, says Mr. Toland, what are the Goths to the Romans, who express this epithet of Apollo by *intonsus*? And what had Goths speaking Latin to do in the shire of Lothian? He was a Roman, by name *Quintus Lussius Sabinianus*, (for so it is written) that paid the vow to Apollo, to whom he gave the epithet of the country where he was sojourning, viz. *Greannach*, and with a Latin termination, *Grannus*. From hence also our Author reads *Scots*, instead of *Goths*, in the abovementioned passage of Isidore.

To return to our *Carnifires*. It was customary for the Lord of the place, or his Son, or some other

other person of distinction, to take the entrails of the sacrificed animals in his hands, and walking thrice barefoot over the coals, after the flames had ceased, to carry them to the Druid, who waited in a whole skin at the altar. If the nobleman escaped harmless, it was reckoned a good omen; if not, it was deemed unlucky both to the publick and to himself. This will help us to explain the beginning of *Flaminius* the Consul's speech to *Equanus* the Sabin at the battel of *Thrasimenus*, as related by *Sil. Ital.* Lib. 5. v. 175. \* which is otherwise unintelligible.

Then seeing *Equanus*, near *Sora*cte born,  
 In person, as in arms, the comliest youth;  
 Whose country manner 'tis, when th'archer keen  
 Divine *Apollo* joys in *burning heaps*,  
 The sacred entrails thro' the fire unhurt  
 To carry thrice: so may you always tread,  
 With unscorch'd feet, the consecrated coals;  
 And o'er the heat victorious, swiftly bear  
 The solemn gifts to pleas'd *Apollo's* altar.

All the Commentators, says he, have hitherto made strange work with this passage, which now appears very plain: especially if it be considered that a great part of Italy followed the Druidical rites, as many of the inhabitants were of Gallic

\* Tum *Sora*cte fatum, præstantem corpore & armis,  
*Æquanus* noscens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,  
 Dum pius *Arcitenens* incensis gaudet *acervis*,  
 Extæ ter innocuos latè portare per ignes:  
 Sic in *Apollineâ* semper vestigia prunâ  
 Inviolata teras; victorque vaporis, ad aras  
 Dona serenato referas solennia *Phœbo*.

extra.

extraction, particularly the Umbrians and Sabins. In the country of the latter stands *Soracte* \*, on the top of which were the grove and temple of Apollo, and also his *Carn* †. Hence also we may the better understand Virgil, *Æneid*: ver. 785. ||

O patron of Soracte's high abodes,  
Phebus, the ruling pow'r among the gods!  
Whom first we serve; whole woods of unctuous Pine  
Burn on thy *heap*, and to thy glory shine:  
By thee protected, with our naked soles  
Thro' flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the  
[kindled coals.  
Give me, propitious Pow'r, to wash away  
The stains of this dishonourable day. *Dryd.*

This prayer was made to Apollo by one *Arums*, of the family of the *Hirpins*, to whom (as Pliny ‡ tells us) the performing of the above described annual ceremony belonged, and who for the risk they run of blistering their soles, were exempted by a public decree from serving in the wars, as well as from the expence and trouble of several offices. But whatever they made the people believe, they took care to secure themselves by an ointment, with which they be-

\* Now *Monte di San Sylvestro*. † *Acervus*.

|| Summe Deum, sancti custos Soractis, Apollo,  
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor *acervo*  
Pascitur, & medium, freti pietate, per ignem  
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ:  
Da, Pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

‡ H. N. l. 2. c. 2.

smear'd their feet, before they would venture over the coals \*, not daring to trust *Apollo* for a miracle.

Our Author passes next to the *Temples of the Druids*, of which he says many are still entire in the Scottish Islands, Wales and Ireland, and some in England. The circles of obelisks, or erect stones, which many have taken to be the work of the Danes, and the famous *Inigo Jones* mistook for Roman, Mr. Toland pretends were the Druids Temples, and promises no less than demonstration for it. In the Island of Lewis there is a very remarkable one. The circle consists of 12 obelisks, 7 foot high, and 6 foot distant from each other. In the center stands a stone 13 foot high, which exactly resembles the rudder of a ship. Directly south from the circle, four obelisks run out in a straight line; there is another such line to the east, and a third to the west; the number and distance of the stones being in these wings the same. But to the north there reach two straight ranges of obelisks, by way of avenue, of the same bigness and distances with those of the circle; the ranges themselves being 8 foot distant, each consisting of 19 stones, the 39th being in the entrance of the avenue. This Temple, says Mr. Toland, stands astronomically, denoting the 12 Signs of the Zodiac, and the four principal winds subdivided each into four others; by which and the 19 stones on each side the avenue, signifying the cycle of 19 years, he thinks he can prove it to have been dedicated chiefly to the Sun, but subordinately to the seasons and the elements, particularly to

\* Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* xi. v. 787.

the sea and the winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle. In the *Mainland*\*, the greatest island of Orkney, there are also two temples, where the natives have a tradition that the sun and moon were worshipped; and indeed the lesser Temple is semicircular, which seems to confirm it. The greater is 110 paces diameter. There's a trench or ditch round each of these Temples, like that about *Stonebenge*. Many of the stones are more than 20 or 24 foot high above the ground, 3 foot broad, and one or two foot thick. There are it seems Inscriptions upon some of these stones, but no body has hitherto been able to read them: they ought however to have been fairly represented. Mr. Toland pretends, that the circle of *Rollrich-stones* in Oxfordshire, the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, and the famous *Stonebenge* in Wiltshire, were all Druids Temples. In Gregory of Tours his time, there was remaining one of these Temples on the top of *Belen's Mount*, between Artom and Riom in Auvergne; and perhaps it may still be there†.

The *Druids Altars*, says our Author, were all oblong, and consisted ordinarily of four large thin flags; whereof two being set up edgeways made the sides, a third in the same manner made one end, (the other being left open) and the fourth was laid a-top. Such an altar is still standing entire in the midst of a circular Temple near *Drumcray* in the Isle of Aran, and a great many more are to be seen in Wales.

The huge coping stones of the Carns were also in the nature of altars. But there was another kind much bigger than either of these,

\* Brand. p. 44.

† De Glor. Confes. c. 5.

consisting of a great number of stones of enormous bulk. There's one of them in Nevern-parish in Pembrokeshire, the middle stone of which is still 18 foot high, 9 foot broad at the base, and growing narrower towards the top. There lies by it a piece broken off from the upper end of 10 foot long, and seems more than 20 oxen can draw : so that they must have understood mechanicks pretty well to set up the whole. But \* one still remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all of the kind in the British islands, (though many of them are above 20 tun weight) being 60 foot in circumference : a monstrous size ! The chieftest in all Ireland was *Crum-criach*, which stood in the midst of a circle of twelve obelisks on a hill in Breshin, in the county of Cavan. It was all over covered with gold and silver, the lesser figures on the twelve stones about it being of brass. The stumps of the obelisks are still to be seen, and are taken notice of by writers long before any Danish invasion ; which is a proof that Dr. Charlton, and those that follow him, are mistaken in attributing these works to the Danes. Besides, there's no such thing to be found any where, but among the Celtic colonies, and where the Religion of the Druids was professed. *Clogher* had it's name from one of those stones all covered with gold (for *Cloch-oir* signifies the golden stone) on which stood *Ker-maud Keltach* (*Mercurius Celticus*) the chief idol of Ulster ; and the stone is still in being.

Mr. Toland here gives the history of the *Fatal Stone* on which the Irish Monarchs used to

\* Chevreau Memoires d'Angleterre, p. 380.

be inaugurated on the hill of *Tarab*, and which being inclosed in a wooden chair was made to emit a sound under the rightful candidate, but was quite mute under one that had no title, or not a good one; that is, one who was not for the Druid's turn. It was \* sent to confirm the Irish colony in Scotland, where it continued to be the Coronation-seat, till in the year 1300 Edward I. of England brought it from Scoon, and placed it under the Coronation-chair of Westminster, and there it still remains the anti-entest respected monument in the world. The vulgar call it *Jacob's Stone*, as if this had been his pillow at Bethel. The Irish pretend to have Memoirs of this stone for above 2000 years; but how soon they began to use it, or whence they had it, lies altogether in the dark.

There is another sort of stones, called in Scotland the *rocking Stones*, which are a curious instance of Priestcraft. They are roundish, and of vast bulk; but so artfully pitched upon flat stones, that if you touch the great stone lightly, it moves and seems to totter, to the great amazement of those who are not in the secret.:

\* The Irish had a persuasion founded on a Druidical Oracle, that where-ever this stone (*Lia-fail*) was found, there one of their race should reign. The original Oracle runs thus:

*Cioniodb scuit saor an fine,  
Man ba breag an Faisline,  
Mar a bhfuigbid an Lia-fail,  
Dligbid slaitheas do ghabhail.*

In Lowland Scotch thus:

Except old Saws do feign,  
And Wizards Wits be blind,  
The Scots in place must reign  
Where they this Stone shall find,

but

but if you push it with your whole force, it stirs not at all ; at least sensibly, for that is the case. The art by which this was effected continued unknown, till that learned Antiquary Sir Robert Sibbald discovered it †. Speaking of the *rocking Stone* near *Balvaird* (or *Bard's-town*) he says that Cromwell's Soldiers having broke it to pieces, it appeared that its motion was occasioned by a little prominence, or yolk extruberant in the middle of the under-surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone. Add, that as the lower stone was flat, so the upper was globular, and so vastly large as entirely to conceal the mechanism ; and the more to favour the cheat, it was surrounded by several other flat stones, though only that in the middle was concerned in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemned or acquitted, as interest or affection led them ; and often brought criminals to a confession, which could no other way be extorted from them. However Mr. Toland is by no means of Strabo's mind, that this might be an useful cheat to Society, unless we could be sure that the management of it would be in safe hands.

The Author next mentions the *Druids Houses*, many of which still remain entire in the Isle of *Sky*, and are so called by the Natives. They are little round, arched, stone buildings, capable of holding only one person, where the retired and contemplative Druid sat, when his oak could not shelter him from the weather. The vulgar still show a vast respect to these houses.

† Append. to *Hist. of Fife and Kinross*.

There



There were also a larger sort of them, of which a very remarkable one is still remaining in St. Kilda, having been the habitation of a Druids, according to the tradition of the Natives. It is all of stone, without lime or mortar to cement it, arched and of a conic figure, open at top, having a fire-place in the middle of the floor. It cannot hold above nine persons to sit easy by one another. From hence our Author concludes that the ancient monument called *Arthur's Oven* in Sterlingshire, which exactly answers this description, and has hitherto, with very little reason, been thought a Roman work, must have been a Druid's house. There is just such another in *Borera*, an Isle adjacent to St. Kilda.

Among many other curiosities, which do not relate to the Druids, the Author mentions one in the Isle of *Hoy* in the Orkneys. There lies on a barren heath, in a valley between two hills, an oblong stone, called the *Dwarfy-stone*. It is 36 foot long, 18 broad, and 9 high. No other stones are near it. 'Tis all hollowed or scooped within, having a door on the east-side 2 foot square, with a stone of the same dimension lying hard by it, intended no doubt to close this entrance. Within at the south-end is cut the form of a bed and pillow, capable of holding two persons; and at the north-end is a couch; both very neatly done. Above it, an equal distance from both, is a large round hole, designed not only to let in light and air, when the door was shut, but also to let out the smoke of the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where. Herodotus says in his second book, that near the entrance of the magnificent temple of Minerva

at Sais in Egypt, he saw an edifice (οἶκημα) 21 cubits long, 14 broad, and 8 high, all of one stone; and that it was brought thither by sea from a place about 20 days sailing off Sais.

Mr. Toland concludes this letter with expressions of admiration, how this, and the other pieces of Architecture mentioned, could be accomplished in these remote, barren, and uncultivated islands; and how such prodigious obelisks could be erected there, as well as in other parts of Britain and Ireland, for which we have scarce any sufficient machines in this age of learning and politeness.

Our Author in his third letter endeavours, among other things, to prove that *Great Britain* † had its name from *Bretagne* in France, just as *Græcia magna* from Greece, or New England from the Old; and that it was called *Great* only in respect of Ireland, which had the name of *Little Britain* \*. Mr. Toland here justifies the accounts given by Pytheas of Marseilles of the British isles, and particularly of Thule, or Iceland, against Strabo, who calls him a very lying fellow. Pytheas, and after him the other Greek travellers, called the frozen ocean ἄλς κέρινη, which appellation Plutarch, &c. have fabled was given it from Cronos, or Saturn's being enchanted in Ogygia, an isle west of Britain. But it is plainly derived from the Celtic; for that Sea is called in the Irish books *Muir-croinn*, i. e. the coagulated Sea; and from *croinn* doubtless came κέρινη. The Author mentions here several curious particulars relating to the Scottish Isles.

† Hesych. in *Bretannus*. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 284, &c.

\* Ptol. in *Almagest*. l. 2. c. 6.

Solinus\*, speaking of the *Hebudes* or *Hebrides*, tells us they secured themselves by a very singular provision against the changing an elective into an hereditary Monarchy, and all the other exorbitancies of the Prince. *Their King*, says he, *has no manner of property, lest avarice should make him deviate from justice; but is maintained at the publick charge.* He has not so much as a wife of his own, but by turns makes use of any woman he has a fancy for; by which means he neither desires, nor hopes for any children. But the greatest part of this Letter is filled with a most curious and entertaining Dissertation concerning Abaris the Priest of the Sun, and the *Hyperborean Island*, so much celebrated by antiquity. This Island Mr. Toland takes, and (I think) proves to have been the *Hebrides*, which in every circumstance agree with the description given of the *Hyperborean Island* by Diodorus Siculus†. These Islands might either have been but one formerly, (according to a Tradition among the Inhabitants) or have been thought so, as they easily might by those who were not thoroughly acquainted with them. Diodorus says, that the Hyperboreans were governed by the family of the *Boreades*, whom they fancied the descendants of the god *Boreas*. But, says Mr. Toland, these *Boreads* were really the Chiefs or Heads of Clans, called by the natives *Boireadbach*, i. e. the Great ones, or powerful and valiant Men, from *Borr* || anciently signifying grandeur and majesty. After

\* Cap. 22.

† Lib. 2.

|| Vid. O Clery's printed Vocabulary of obsolete words, and Lhuyd's Irish-English Dictionary.

this,

this, Mr. Toland examines the account given of Abaris his person and habit, and finds him to have been a true Highlander. For Himerius \* describes him entring Athens in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot, and the very dress that is to this day worn by the Highlanders.

It will perhaps divert some of my Readers, to find here an odd custom or two, that formerly prevailed in the Highlands. In some places, beside the ordinary rent the tenant paid, if any of his cattel brought twins, one of them went to the Landlord : but then if his tenant's wife bore twins, one of them also went to the Landlord, who was obliged to take it into his family. Dr. Martin tells us, he himself knew a Gentleman who had no less than 16 of them in his house at one time. Such are the happy effects of living after simple nature, and a constitution preserved by temperance, improved by exercise, and undebauched by effeminacy and luxury. *O fortunatos nimium, bona sibi sua norunt!* The present *Macneil*, says Mr. Toland, is the 35th Lord of *Barra* by uninterrupted lineal descent ; a thing whereof no Prince in the world can boast. When the wife of any of his *Clan* or subjects dies, the widower immediately has recourse to his Lord, and represents first his own loss in the want of an helpmate, and next that of *Macneil* himself, if he should not go on to beget followers for him. Upon this, *Macneil* finds out a suitable match, and so the marriage is celebrated without courtship, or portion ; for neither side ever dislikes his choice,

\* Ex Orat. ad Ursicium apud Photium, in Biblioth. cod. 243. edit. Rothomag. p. 1135.

but

but accepts it as the highest favour. Widows also apply in the same manner, and are provided with husbands with as little ceremony. In some other places 'twas an ancient custom, that when a man had gained the consent of the maid he liked, he took her home to his bed and board for a whole year. If he kept her any longer, she became his wife; but if after a year's acquaintance he did not like her, he sent her home to her parents, with her portion if she had any, legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own charge. Nor was this usage any injury to the Lady's character. Those who are pleased with such ancient singularities, may find entertainment enough in Dr. Martin's *Description of the Isles of Scotland.*

There are several other curious Pieces in this Collection, which as they deserve the attention of the learned, may perhaps make an agreeable Article in some future Journal.

I have in my possession an original MS. of Mr. Toland's, which I design some time or other to communicate to the world. It contains instructions for reading and understanding the old Irish MSS. and may be useful to the antiquities of that country.



## ARTICLE XIX.

NICOLAI FACII  
NEWTONUS, ECLOGA.

THE following Poem upon Sir Isaac Newton  
was communicated to me by the ingenious  
MARCH 1728. R Author,

Author, Mr. *Facio*, sufficiently known to the Learned for his profound Skill in Mathematics.

N. B. The orthography is agreeable to the Author's own copy and desire.

*Natus est Isaacus Newtonus ipso Die Natali Domini, Anno 1642. Stylo Juliano, Horâ primâ vel Secundâ post mediâ Noctem, idque Tempore ipso Plenilunij. Capitis effloruit sensim in summam Canitatem versis, Annus Etatis inter trigessimum & quadragesimum.*

**N**atura Omniparens Cunctis Præfecta cre-  
[andis;  
Olim dicta Ceres, Isis, Lucina, Venusque;  
Si merito ipsa tegis Partus Mysteria, Pictam  
Sub tenui Tabulam velent mihi Nube Camœnæ:  
Sed lateat Divini aliquid vel Nube sub ipsâ.

Vix matura Dies Soli patefecerat Ortus;  
Et liquidum per Iter Curru trans Æthera vecto,  
Suppositas Phœbus spargebat Lumine Terras;  
Obstupuit rerum facie. Non Cynthia Olympo,  
Non Regina Deum, Pallas, Cyllenius, Hebe,  
Jupiter aut Divum ullus adest: Loca sola viden-  
Ignotæ regnant tranquilla Silentia Noctis. [tur.  
Nec magis, Aura, Jaces, ubi Tempestate Serenâ  
Multa viatores, Pecudesque & florida Campi  
Gramina, de Cœlo collapsa obretit Arachne.  
Nequicquam Terras, Maria, & Ventosa requirit  
Nubila: in immensam tutum protenditur Æquor;

Ceu

Ceu Pater Oceanus Splendet, Pellacia Ponti  
Cum Suadet timidis adeunda Pericula Nauris.  
Non aliter quondam Pimplæ de Vertice Musæ  
Inferiora locis Nebulæ condi Æquore cernunt,  
Bacchus ubi Autumno Maturas tinxerit Uvas.

Quæ Versata diu, necdum explorata Putando;  
Et quanquam nostris non sunt, quibus omnia  
cerno,  
Vestiganda Oculis ; at præsens singula noscam,  
Phœbus ait : mediasque è Cœlo illapsus in Um-  
[bras,  
Monte sub aërto Terræ superadstitit almæ.

Invenit hic Paphiam, Musas, Divosq; Deasque;  
Et Socias Charites ; & Aquarum Numina Nym-  
[phas,  
Quæ Puerum, Vegetemque, & adhuc sine No-  
[mine, certant  
Tingere Mellifluas Cœlestis Roris in undas.

At Musæ teneris concentibus Aera complent.  
Fontibus his haurite, Viri quibus Omnipotentia  
Templa Patent : Nutu Cœli Deus Ostia Pandit.  
Divitias effunde tuas, Natura ; Parentem  
Te Sequimur : taceat si quis tibi Prætulit Artes.  
Te duce Sidereos Terris deducimus Ignes.  
Te, spectata coram, magico, Præfulgida Vitro,  
Cynthia in immensum Sua crescere Lumina sentit,  
Et rutilo gaudet penitus sub Sole teneri.  
Semina Cuncta creas, Diva inscrutabilis : inde  
Putrefacis, agitasque, Sagaci Mente reficta.  
Hinc nova Sublatis Succrescunt Sæcla caducis :  
Nec finis ut Mundi facies longæva senescat.  
Defuerit Locus, at non Vis, Tibi fracta creando.  
Per Te Operasq; Tuas Elementa rotantur, & Orbi

Tempore dant puncto maturos Sidera Fœtus.  
Te Puer hic, Terris Jamdudum debitus adstat.

Hæc alternatim Musarum Cætus : at ille  
Vix dum natus erat; Prensum Tritonia Pallas  
Admovet Uberibus Paphiæ ; & Meus hic erit in-  
[quit.

Parce Tibi Proprium, quæ sunt communia,  
[Virgo

Dicere Phœbus ait : sed quos volet eligat ipse.  
Ille quidem ridens in cunctos Lumina fixit,  
Cognatæque dedit Tecmeria plurima Mentis.  
Risit Amor, Charitesque & Divûm Turba vicissim.  
Decerptaque Venus Phœbi de Vertice Lauro,  
Eque sinu proprio desumptis Floribus, ipsa  
Ambrosiis manibus sacram contexta Corollam  
Imposuit Puero, nudataque tempora cinxit.

At Phœbum alloquitur Divûm Pater atq; Ho-  
[minum Rex.

Expectatus ades : Nec te decet Ætheris Auras,  
Absente, hunc Puerum roseis haurire labellis.  
Adspicis ut domitâ creperæ Caliginis Umbra,  
Luce merâ rutilos Puer imbibit ebrius Ignes.  
Sed Porro quid Fata ferant, en perspice Jussus.  
Dixit ; & exhibuit Solido ex Adamante Tabellas,  
Ille legit, Divi pendent dicentis ab Ore.

Qui Puer in dias veniet nunc Luminis oras,  
Inspiciet propius Cœlestis mœnia Templi.  
Cum videant alii rutilantia Lumina Solis  
Sentiet innumeros Phœbi sub Luce Colores,  
Nec totidem ocepto Fulgorè, refuderit Iris.  
Sidera cognoscet quæ Vis, quæ Tempora volvant.  
Principiis mutuam Gravitatem in sese, & Amorem

Infun-



Infundet quo cuncta creat Deus : aptaque Mundo  
Vincla dabit, Sparsis ubivis Rectoris Habenis.  
Neu coeant Pura Impuris, Immitia Coctis,  
Indet in ipsa Elementa vicissim Odiumque Fu-  
[gamque.

Vorticibus Cœlo pulsus Vacuoque reposito,  
Astrorum in numerum deprensos Arte Comætas  
Constituēt, figetque vias per Devia Mundi.  
Æquatos facilesque Diis dabit undique Motus.  
Pondera Corporibus tribuet, Divumque Dea-  
[rumque.

Instabiles stringet Numeris Tibi Cynthia Gressus.  
Oceano Certum ponet Fluxum, atque Refluxum.  
Pythagoræ, magno Plausu, servabit honores.  
Nunc liquido fulgens Splendore Matheseos Astrum  
Cunctis è medio Cernetur Vertice Cœli.  
Hæc fluet ut Spreto Torrens ruit Objice Saxi,  
Mominis ingredientem edocta expendere Lapsum.  
Tu Neutonus eris. Citum est tibi cœlitus Erc-  
[tum.

Neutonium ingeminant cuncti Musæque, Dii-  
Neutono gaudet Cœlestum Turba reperto. [que,  
Neutonium attonitis resonat Regionibus Echo.

At Capite ex Pueri totos decerpere Flores  
E Maja genitus, propriis occultus in Umbris.  
Et poterat latuisse alios ; sed sensit Apollo ;  
Secum Animo qui multa putans volvensq; Futura,  
Quid tantum hic Lachrymarum ? ait. Alta Silen-  
[tia, Musæ,

Imperio exercenda meo. Absit cura remordens,  
Sat tulit ista Dies nobis Splendoris ; in ævum  
Sancta Dies feris veniet celebranda Camænis.  
Et si qua invitis sunt Omina læva, tacendum est.  
Sed Tibi, parve Puer, nitido de Flore Corolla,

Munus, Opusque Deum, quam, spirans Balsama  
[Roris

Guttula multa tegit, canos imitata Capillos,  
Mentem Nestoream teneris promittit ab Annis.  
Fata fidem dictis tribuent, Ego Testis Apollo ;  
Et Canum ante Diem tua Te mirabitur Ætas.

Dixit & egrediens Divum stipante Coronâ,  
Suspendit Puero rutilas, utraque sub Aure,  
Gemmas ; quas nec emant Regum Diademata  
[Opesque.

Cætera quid memorem ? quid Dona Deumque  
[Dearumque ?

Oscula quid ? quid Vota Deum ? quid singula  
[Dicta ?

Tunc Coelum repetunt longo Agmine, Splendida  
[Turba ;  
Nectare nutrirî Puerum, Ambrosiâque Jubentes.



## ARTICLE XX.

DIONYSII Halicarnassæi de Structura O-  
rationis Liber. Ex recensione JACOBI  
UPTONI, A. M. Collegii Regalis apud  
Cantab. nuper Socii : Qui & veterem  
Interpretationem emendavit, & Notis  
integris Frederici Sylburgii, selectisque  
aliorum suas passim Animadversiones  
adjecit. His accesserunt Simonis Bir-  
covii

covii exempla Latina; cum duobus Indicibus. *London: Printed for R. Knaplock, in St. Paul's Churchyard.* 1728.

**T**HIS book may be deservedly reckoned *Dionysius's* master-piece; which has been the more valued by the Learned, because it is the only ancient book extant on that subject. This our learned Editor published some years ago. But as second thoughts (to use his own words) are better; and having received some help *è duobus Cod. Regiis & uno Colbornino*, which his friend Dr. Hudson supplied him with, (and how much that learned and diligent Librarian was indebted to Mr. James Upton, witness his honourable mention of him in his preface to *Dionysius's* works) he has published his second edition with additions, to a book in no wise defective before.

The version is entirely Mr. Upton's own, which Dr. Hudson calls *versionem feliciter adornatam*. The verses are happily and elegantly translated. *Sylburgius's* notes are often and frequently corrected. The observations of *Vossius*, *Casaubon* and other learned men, he has used with great judgment. In his own notes, he has shewn our Author to have fallen into the same fault, with which he taxed *Hegesias*, p. 36. note 45. To have been partial to his countryman *Herodotus*, p. 71. note 7. That he is mistaken in measuring verse, p. 143. note 25. p. 238. note 30. He corrects the *errata* and mistakes of *Lindembrogius*, *Vossius*, *Torrentius*, *Stephanus*, &c. with much learning, and great deference. He strengthens his Author's criticisms, by produ-

cing parallel places from *Quintilian*, *Cicero*, *Petronius*, *Longinus*, *Aristotle*, and others ; p. 54. n. 7. p. 230. n. 17. p. 110. n. 12, 13, 14. p. 186. n. 31. and in many other places, too numerous to mention.

*Hephaestion*, tho' lately printed, yet little understood, he has explained, p. 22. n. 20. p. 30. n. 3. p. 155. n. 8. p. 180. n. 16. Mr. Upton has lately printed a Specimen of this Book, and 'tis hoped he will favour the world with an edition of it.

I must not pass over in silence that place taken notice of in the *Acta Eruditorum*, Anno 1703. viz. *μῆ* being put for *οὐραν*, p. 102. n. 30. for which use of it *Josephus* makes an apology in the beginning of his history, and promises to write a treatise about it. But sure *Dionysius* used no *Hebraisms*. Nor should I forget p. 40. n. 32. where the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* uses the same phrase with the *Halicarnassian* : Or, that happy emendation of *Quintilian ad Tryphonem*, p. 217. n. 45. where he reads *Anco-ram* for *Oram*.

At the end of the book is added, *Simon Bircovius's* instances from Latin Authors, corresponding to the Greek ; and two useful Indexes, one Latin, and the other Greek.

To conclude : Few Editors have shewn equal learning and judgment, no one greater than Mr. James Upton.

ART I.



## ARTICLE XXL

## AMSTERDAM.

**T**HERE is just published a new and beautiful edition in 4to. of *Julian's Cæsars*, with the translation and remarks of the learned Spanheim. The Medals, and other antient Monuments, to the number of 300, are engraven by the famous *Picart*.

Mr. *Rival*, Chaplain to his Majesty of Great Britain, has published here, *Dissertations Historiques & Critiques* upon several subjects; some particularly against P. *Daniel* and L'Abbé de *Vertot*.

## LONDON.

I. **T**HE ingenious M. de Saint Hyacinthe, to whom the learned were formerly so much obliged for the great share he had in the *Journal Litteraire de la Haye* and *L'Europe Sçavante*, has published here Proposals for printing by subscription, *Recherches Philosophique des DROITS & des DEVOIRS, tant GENERAUX que PARTICULIERS: ou l'on discute, sur les verites demontrees, diverses Loix, Contumes, & Opinions reçues*, containing about 80 sheets in 4to. He divides it into three books; in the first of which

which, he enquires into the foundation of *Rights* and *Duties*; in the second, he lays down the general Rules of them; and in the third, he examines, 1. What *Rights* a man could claim, and what *Duties* he would be obliged to, were he alone upon earth: 2. What would be his *Rights* and *Duties*, considered as father of a family; and 3. What would be the mutual *Rights* and *Duties* of two neighbouring families, were there no other in being. The subject is apparently of great use and importance; and whoever reads the Extract which the Author has given of his two first books in his *Projet*, will find all reason to expect that it will be handled as it deserves, and that the Author will succeed as happily in this undertaking, which he has made his study for several years, as he formerly did, when, to ridicule the vanity and presumption of Commentators, he wrote the diverting *Mathanasis*, or *Chef d'Oeuvre d'un Inconnu*. He does not set himself the task to establish some precarious hypothesis, or prove a perplexed thesis; but to proceed in a geometrical manner, and to admit all conclusions, and none but such, as follow necessarily from self-evident principles, the contrary whereof would imply a contradiction. This is the only true method of philosophizing, and that which led the great Newton to his wonderful discoveries. Our Author has already convinced the world by his *Lettres écrites de la Campagne*, and his *Entretiens sur les Pré-tentions de l'Espagne & du Chevalier de St. George*, that he is very well acquainted with the most abstract Speculations, and publick Right, which he has in those two performances explained in the most familiar and easy manner.

II. Dr. Smith, Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, &c. has published Proposals for print-

printing *A compleat System of Optics, applied to philosophical and vulgar uses. With an account of the mechanical ways of making and managing optical instruments; and of the principal discoveries in Astronomy and natural Philosophy made therewith.* The ingenious Author acquaints us, that his chief design is to shorten the way to a clear comprehension of so useful, and so entertaining a part of natural knowledge, as that drawn from Optics. In a word, to give the world a system of Optics more useful and extensive than can be gathered from what is yet extant; and withal so easy, that a moderate skill in Arithmetic, and the Elements of Geometry, is sufficient to understand the whole Book.

III. Proposals are published here for printing the *Cæsars of the Emperor Julian* in Greek and English, with remarks. I should be glad to understand one passage in the specimen, which the translator has given us of this work. *The Cæsars* [being invited to an entertainment with Romulus] were received in the upper region of the air, under the orb of the moon; whose REVOLUTION sustained their light ethereal bodies. The Greek runs thus: 'Ἦν αὐτὴν ἡ τῆς Σελήνης ἐν μεταώρῳ οὐρανῷ ἀφ' ἧς ἔκλυον τοὺς καίτοις ἀνθρώπους. Αὐτῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἦν ἡ σφαῖρα τοῦ κορυφίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμικυκλίου, καὶ ἡ σφαῖρα τῆς Σελήνης. Περὶ τοῦ does indeed signify Revolution, but it also signifies Circumference, and sometimes the orb or body \* of the sun or moon. Or may it not here mean the sphere or solid orb † of the moon, which was then mightily in vogue? But as there is a great deal of fine satyr in this book, perhaps the Translator has a

\* See Spanheim's fine edition.

† In this sense Plotinus seems to use the word in a passage he quotes from Plato. Enead. ii. lib. 1. p. 102.

mind to improve it, and turn it upon Julian himself among the rest; for to say the truth, he deserves it. I mightily approve of his printing the Greek against the English; for the original is often absolutely necessary to the understanding of a modern translation. However, in some cases, where one of the two may suffer by the comparison, it is not so proper; and Mr. Cook has very prudently omitted it in his translation of Hesiod.

IV. Dr. Smedly, Dean of Clogher, has published *a specimen of an universal view of all the eminent writers on the Holy Scriptures: being a collection of the Dissertations, Explications, and Opinions of learned men, in all ages, concerning the difficult passages and obscure texts of the Bible; and of whatever is to be met with in profane Authors, which may contribute to the better understanding of them.* Pag. 66. in fol. As this is a Work of prodigious labour, and will not only be very curious, but also extremely useful to all Readers, and especially to Divines, as well as their adversaries, by saving them a great deal of trouble, study, and cost, 'ts to be hoped it will meet with suitable encouragement. The Author proposes to print it immediately in 2 Vol. in fol. For the sake of those who do not understand the learned languages, he gives translations of all the passages he quotes from them; and as such will be obliged to him for naturalizing so much learning, so 'tis to be hoped his fidelity and care in quoting and translating will leave the learned no room to complain of the want of the originals.





THE  
Present State  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC  
OF  
LETTERS.

For *April*, 1728.

VOL. I.

— *Fungar vice cotis, acutum*  
*Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.*  
Horat.

L O N D O N :

Printed for WILLIAM INNYS, at the West  
End of St. Paul's. MDCCLXXVIII.

Price One Shilling.

## BOOKS printed for W. INNYs.

1. **O**UR Blessed Lord, Jesus of Nazareth, proved to be the Christ, from the literal Sense of the Prophecies in the Old Testament. In several Letters to the Author of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, and of *the Scheme of Literal Prophecy consider'd*. Letter I. Proving the Christian Religion not founded on *Judaism*, but on the Love of God to Man, as being the only Way to everlasting Happiness, and establish'd before the Creation. *Judaism* instituted only to manifest the Messiah, and now abrogated, as having answered the purpose of its Institution. 8vo. 1728.

2. A new *Italian Grammar*, *Italian-English*, and *English-Italian*; which contains a true and easy method for acquiring these two Languages. With many useful Remarks, which are not to be found in any other Grammar of this Kind. By *F. Altieri*, Author of the *Italian and English Dictionary*, and Professor of the *Italian Tongue* in London. 8vo. 1728.

3. The Ecclesiastical History of Mr. *Fleury*, with the Chronology of Mr. *Tillamont*, in 2 Vols. 4to. Vol. I. contains the three first Centuries. Vol. II, the 4th Century. The third Vol. containing the fifth Century, is in the Press, and will be finished with all convenient Speed.

4. A Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the *English Ordinations*, against the several Answers made to it, with proper Vouchers for the Facts advanced in that Work. By the Reverend Father *P. F. Coutayer*. In 2 Vol. 8vo. Price 12s.

5. *Philosophical Transactions*, N<sup>o</sup>. 400. for the Months of *October*, *November*, and *December*, 1727. continued and published by Dr. *Rutty*, Secretary to the Royal Society.

6. Money essay'd, or the true Value of it try'd: In a Sermon preach'd before the worshipful Society of Merchants in the City of *Bristol*. By *Charles Brent*, A. M. Rector of *Christ-Church* and of *St. Werburge* in the said City, and Canon Residentiary of *St. David's*. Publish'd at the Desire of the Society. 8vo.

7. *Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations*, abridg'd from the Original. In 2 Vols. 8vo. By *J. Spavan*. M. A.



T O

JOHN CONDUIT, Esq;

Master of His Majesty's Mint.

S I R,

**I**F there be any merit in this Abstract of Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Chronology, no one has so just a title to it as yourself; since by presenting it to you, I do but return you in gratitude a part of that invaluable work, for which the whole learned world stands highly obliged to your care. Nor shall I need to be ashamed of my offering, if the execution be found equal to the design of this small performance: for our Great Master has so thoroughly exhausted all Science, that the highest praise now to be hoped for, is that of understanding what he has taught, and explaining it to others. If knowledge be the proper food of souls, it was time indeed for him to remove: nothing more was to be learnt here, and he has now only shifted his station, to take a nearer view of the Great Creator, in the full Immensity of his Works, which on earth were his study and delight.

*With what pleasure could I dwell on the Excellencies of that wonderful Man! If he was not something more, who could comprehend in his vast*  
Mind

## DEDICATION.

*Mind the various relations of things past, present, and to come, with so much clearness, as to see them almost by intuition. But it is needless to enlarge upon a Character so universally known and admired; especially to you, Sir, who had the singular happiness of living long in intimacy and friendship with him: a happiness envied indeed by many, but which few could have enjoyed with so exquisite a relish. That required a Mind furnished with an extensive variety both of solid and polite learning; and, which is still more valuable and uncommon, a Mind resembling his own in that piety to God, that benevolence to mankind, that meekness, that modesty, and every other amiable virtue, which gave a new lustre to his shining talents: in short, such an one as Sir ISAAC NEWTON himself would have chosen for his friend, his companion, his ally and successor. This choice, Sir, were your character no otherways distinguished, points you out to universal esteem and respect: full of which I have the sincerest pleasure in professing myself,*

S I R,

*Your most Obedient, and*

*most Humble Servant.*



THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

For APRIL 1728.

ARTICLE XXII.

THE CHRONOLOGY of *ancient Kingdoms amended. To which is prefixed, A short Chronicle, from the first Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. By Sir ISAAC NEWTON. London: Printed for J. Tonson, J. Osborn, and T. Longman. 1728. pagg. 376. in 4to.*

HISTORY may not improperly be compared to a rich store-house, wherein are laid up, for the pleasure and advantage of succeeding ages, all the experience and improvements of former ones in Sciences, in the arts  
APRIL 1728. S of

of peace and war, and whatever, in short, regards the happiness of society <sup>a</sup>. But for want of Chronology, all those valuable treasures are nothing but an heap of confusion, without connection, order, or beauty.

This Work therefore is not only exceeding useful, but every other way worthy of its illustrious Author. The same judgment, accuracy and penetration, which distinguish all his other performances, are no less conspicuous in this. But the Reader will be surprized at that profusion of sacred and profane Learning wherewith he has enriched it, and which one would not have believed his application to studies of a different nature, at least his prodigious attainments in them, could have allowed him time to acquire. All the ancient Poets, Historians and Criticks, are brought in to contribute their assistance; and, like some skilful Alchymist, he has changed even the dross of the Rabbins into gold. Yet, while he supports his opinions with all the arguments that the whole compass of Science can furnish, he always proposes them with the utmost caution; and by a modesty peculiar to superior talents, sets a becoming example to those of a lower rank; but perhaps as difficult for human nature to imitate, as any other part of his character.

Though the subject will not admit of mathematical demonstration; for the Principles we must proceed upon being only probable, the

<sup>a</sup> Liv. in Proœm. Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere capias: inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu quod vitæ.

conclusions cannot be infallibly certain : yet his arguments are so numerous, and each of them so cogent, that they force our assent to the consequences he draws from them. The chain is indeed sometimes so long, that ordinary capacities will be in danger now and then of dropping a link, and losing the connection ; but to such as have a sufficient strength of genius, those labours of thought will be only a pleasing exercise, which, to minds of a weaker constitution, would prove an unsurmountable fatigue. Such, however, will find a very agreeable entertainment from his account of the heathen Mythology, of the origin and progress of arts and sciences, and a variety of curious observations of several kinds, which he has interspersed throughout the whole work. The generous and good-natured mind, in particular, will be pleased to find him lose no opportunity of instilling those principles of *virtue* and *humanity*, which, both by his conduct and his writings, appear to have been always uppermost in his heart. He severely condemns <sup>b</sup> *all oppression, and every kind of cruelty, even to brute beasts ; he inculcates mercy, charity, and the indispensable duty of doing good, with the greatest warmth ; and shows that an abhorrence of idolatry and persecution was one of the earliest laws of the divine Legislator ; that in these things consisted the Morality of the first ages, the primitive Religion both of Jews and Christians, and that this ought to be the standing Religion of all Nations, it being both for the honour of God, and the good of Society.* The Divine especially will find this treatise of considerable use to him, as it sets the connection

<sup>b</sup> Chronol. p. 187, & seq.

of sacred and profane History in a new and clear light, and will furnish him with many curious hints for the illustration of several texts of Scripture, not to be found in the most celebrated Commentators. A Gentleman, who is one of the brightest ornaments both of this Nation and Church, said of Sir Isaac in his life-time, that *he was the best Divine and Commentator on the Bible he had ever met with.*

To this general account, I shall only add the reflection which Mr. Conduitt very justly makes upon this work, in his elegant Dedication of it to Her Majesty. “ The Author himself has “ acquainted the Publick, that the following “ treatise was the fruit of his vacant hours, and “ the relief he sometimes had recourse to, “ when tired with his other studies. What an “ idea does it raise of his abilities, to find that “ a work of such labour and learning, as would “ have been a sufficient employment and glory “ for the whole life of another, was to him diversion only and amusement !

As the abridgment of this work made by Sir Isaac himself, is hardly any thing more than a chronicle of the chief events in ancient History, reduced to their proper periods, it does scarcely, if at all, interfere with the following extract, wherein my chief aim shall be to give the Reader a distinct view of the foundations and main pillars upon which this new system of Chronology is built ; that by seeing them at once, in as narrow a compass as possible, and sometimes in a new light, he may the better judge of their solidity. Nor will it be amiss to illustrate some of the most remarkable facts as they occur, for the sake of those who are not thoroughly versed in antiquity.

In



In order to clear his way, our Author begins with informing us of the State wherein he found Chronology, which he deduces from its origin. There is, he observes, the utmost uncertainty in the Chronology of antient kingdoms, arising from the vanity of each in claiming the greatest Antiquity, while those pretensions were favoured by their having no exact accounts of time. The Europeans in particular had no Chronology before the Persian Empire <sup>c</sup>; and whatever they now have of antienter times hath been framed since by reasoning and conjecture. The Antiquities of the Greeks are full of Fables, because all their writings were in verse only <sup>d</sup>, from which fiction is inseparable, till the conquest of Asia by Cyrus the Persian; about which time <sup>e</sup> Pherecydes Syrius, and Cadmus Milesius introduced Prose. About the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis <sup>f</sup>, Pherecydes Atheniensis wrote ten Books of the Antiquities of the Athenians, which he digested by Genealogies. Epimenides the Historian followed his example; and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus <sup>†</sup>, regulated his History by the Ages or Successions of the Priestesses of Juno Argiva. Others digested theirs by those of the kings of Sparta, or of the Archons of Athens. Hippas the Elean, about 30 years before the fall of the Persian Empire <sup>g</sup> published a list of the Olympic

<sup>c</sup> It began 536 years before Chr.

<sup>d</sup> Plut. de Pyth. Orac. Idem in Solon. & Diog. Laert. in Solon.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. H. N. l. 7. c. 56. & l. 5. c. 29. Joseph. contr. Apion. sub init.

<sup>f</sup> He died before Chr. 485.

<sup>†</sup> He was 53 years old when the Peloponnesian war begun; before Christ 431.

<sup>g</sup> It was destroyed by Alexander the Great 332 years before Christ.

Victors; but supported it by no certain arguments <sup>g</sup>. Then Ephorus <sup>h</sup>, the disciple of Iſocrates, formed a Chronological History of Greece, from the return of Heraclides into Peloponnesus to the siege of Perinthus in the 20th year of Philip of Macedon <sup>i</sup>. But still he digested things by Generations, and the reckoning by Olympiads, or any other *Æra*, was not yet in use. The Arundelian marbles were composed 60 years after the death of Alexander the Great, (*i. e.* An. 4 Olymp. 128. <sup>k</sup>) yet mention neither the Olympiads, nor any other *Æra*, but reckon backward from the time then present. But in the next Olympiad Timæus Siculus wrote an history down to his own times, according to the Olympiads; comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the Archons of Athens, and the Priestesses of Argos with the Olympic Victors, so as to make the Olympiads, the Genealogies, and the Successions of Kings, Archons, Priestesses, and poetical histories suit with one another to the best of his judgment. Where he left off Polybius began. Eratosthenes wrote above 100 years after the death of Alexander the Great <sup>l</sup>. He was followed by Apollodorus; and these two, who like the rest computed by generations <sup>m</sup>, have been the guides of all writers ever since. Their Chronology

<sup>g</sup> Plut. in Numa.

<sup>h</sup> Diodor. lib. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Before Christ 340.

<sup>k</sup> The first Olymp. begun in the year 776. before Chr. Alexander died An. 1. Olymp. 114. After Solomon's death 655. Before Christ 324. The Arundelian Marbles were composed only 264 years before Christ.

<sup>l</sup> Before Christ 224.

<sup>m</sup> Diod. l. 1, in Procem. & Plut. in Lycurg. sub init.

nology however was very doubtful ; and indeed was so reputed <sup>n</sup> by the Greeks themselves.

As for the Latins, theirs was still more uncertain <sup>o</sup>. Their old Records were burnt by the Gauls <sup>p</sup> 120 years after the expulsion of their kings, 64 years before the death of Alexander the Great <sup>q</sup>; and Q. Fabius Pictor <sup>r</sup> their oldest historian lived 100 years later than that king, and took almost every thing from Diocles Peparethius a Greek.

The Chronologers of Gaul, Spain, Germany, Scythia, Swedeland, Britain and Ireland are of a date still later: for Scythia beyond the Danube had no letters, till Ulphilas their bishop formed them, about 600 years after the death of Alexander the Great <sup>s</sup>; Germany had none, till it received them from the Western Empire of the Latins, above 700 years after that king's death <sup>t</sup>. The Huns had none in the days of Procopius, 850 years after Alexander's death <sup>u</sup>. Sweden and Norway received them still later. Now *things said to be done 100, or 200 years before the use of Letters, are not much to be credited.*

After this account of the Origin of Chronology, our Author enquires into the methods of computation by which the periods of history have hitherto been determined. The Antients digested all things by *Generations* or *Successions*, as has been shown, and their reckonings are still followed

<sup>n</sup> Plut. in Licurg. & Solon.

<sup>o</sup> Id. in Romul. & Num. Serv. ad Æneid. 7. v. 678.

<sup>p</sup> Diodor. l. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Before Christ 388.

<sup>r</sup> Plut. in Rom. before Christ 224.

<sup>s</sup> About A. D. 276.

<sup>t</sup> About A. D. 400.

<sup>u</sup> About A. D. 530.

by the Moderns. Now, says Sir Isaac, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Latins, all reckoned the *Reigns* of kings *equipollent* to *Generations* of men, and three of them to 100 years. This was the foundation of the Technical Chronology of the Antients; and accordingly they have made the kings of Rome, Sicyon, Argos, Sparta, Messene, Arcadia, and others who lived *before the Persian Empire*, reign one with another between 35 and 40 years apiece, and some a great deal more: which is a length so much beyond the ordinary course of nature, as is not to be credited. For according to that, says he, kings reign, one with another, about 18 or 20 years apiece; if some reign longer, others reign a shorter space. And that this is the true medium, he proves beyond contradiction from the *certain* histories of all nations since Chronology has been exact. He owns indeed, that *Generations from father to son* may be reckoned, one with another, at about 33 years apiece, or three of them to 100 years \*. But if you take them by

\* 'Tis a little surprising, that the French Critic should so grossly have mistaken Sir Isaac here, as if he pretended that a *Generation* is to be valued at no more than 18 or 20 years: whereas he only proves that *Generations* and *Reigns* are not *equivalent*; and the very arguments adduced to confute Sir Isaac, are a confirmation of the medium of 33 years, assigned by him as the value of a *Generation*. I cannot pass one instance of our Critic's Accuracy. *From the Birth of Hugh Capet in 940, says he, to the Death of Louis XII. in 1515. are 673 (instead of 575) years, and 17 Generations; which is at the rate of 40 (instead of 34) years apiece; and from thence he concludes, that Generations may rise to 40 years. As to what he adds, that we must suppose the antient Chronologers valued Generations according to the course of nature in their days: If this Gentleman had made the least reflection upon the method*

by the *eldest* sons they will be shorter  $\gamma$ , so that three of them may be computed at about 75 or 80 years. Now the *Reigns of Kings* are still shorter; because they are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but sometimes by their brothers; and sometimes they are slain or deposed, and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms. So that from reason, as well as history, 18 or 20 years must be allowed a just medium.

Before we come to show, how the Author applies this medium to the fixing of any parti-

method he himself took, and indeed the only one that can be taken, to fix the value of a Generation, (*viz.* by dividing a certain space of time by the number of Generations that have lived in it) he would have found it was impossible for the first Chronologers to do it with any accuracy, seeing they had no exact accounts of time.

In such sort of computations it is necessary to suppose, 1. That all men live, at a medium, an equal number of years. 2. That they all marry, at a medium, at a certain age. Now the length of a Generation, that is, the excess of a son's life above his father's, will be always exactly equal to the father's age when that son was born; and consequently the Generations by the eldest sons will be the shortest. As to the age at which the Antients married, we may easily allow, that in those days, when Princes were not confined to Royal Families only, but married where they liked, and when the simplicity of their manners made love and beauty, rather than fortune and quality, the motives of their choice, they were fathers generally a pretty while before the 33d year of their age; and probably as soon as men are now, or sooner; else why did Lycurgus advise that men should not marry till 30, that so their children might be strong and vigorous? or why did Hesiod, *Oper. & Di. v. 693.* recommend it to his brother to marry about 30 years of age, not *much* sooner, nor *much* later, a maid of about 20 or 21? not a young virgin of 15 years, which seems to be Mr. Cook's Taste, but was not Hesiod's, though he palms it upon him.

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cular event, it will be very proper to have a general idea of his plan. Sir Isaac therefore pitches upon four remarkable periods, whereby he determines all the rest. I. *The Return of the Heraclides* \* into Peloponnesus. II. *The taking of Troy*, which Thucydides, and the Antients before him expressly say was 80 years before that *Return*. 2. Oxylus, grandson to Thoas who was at the Trojan War, returned with the Heraclides. 3. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, was but a youth at the taking of Troy, and his sons Penthius and Tisamenes lived till the return of the Heraclides. III. *The Argonautic Expedition* \*, which

\* Eurytheus, the son of Sthenelus King of Mycenæ, in the Peloponnesus (now the Morea) was the mortal enemy of Hercules the Argonaut, whom he probably looked upon as his rival, and in order to rid himself of the man he feared, put him upon his twelve celebrated labours; but contrary to his hopes, the hero came off victorious in all of them. After the death of Hercules, (who is said to have burnt himself alive, that he might put an end to the torments he suffered by the poisoned shirt his wife had sent him) Eurytheus continued to persecute the Heraclides his descendants, and drove them quite out of the Peloponnesus; but at last, after several unsuccessful attempts, the fourth Generation recovered their country, and their fortunes.

\* Phryxus flying with his sister Helle from the rage of their stepmother Ino the daughter of Cadmus, and wife of their father Athamas a little King in Bœotia, went on board a ship, whose ensign was a golden Ram, and sailed to Colchis (now Mingrelia, part of Georgia) where Æetes was King. Helle was drowned by the way in that sea which from her was called the Hellespont, now the Straits of Gallipoli, or the Dardanelles. This gave occasion to the poetical fable, that a Ram with a golden Fleece swam away with them to Colchis; and that the Argonauts undertook their famed expedition in order to seize that Fleece. Some are of opinion, that the whole of this account is fabulous. But Sir Isaac is not of that  
number,

which was one *Generation* earlier than the *taking of Troy*. 1. Thucydides and the Antients affirm it. 2. Hercules the Argonaut and Andraemon married two sisters; and Thoas, son of the latter, warred at Troy<sup>b</sup>. 3. A little before the *Argonautick Expedition*, Theseus being about 50 years old, stole Helena, who was then but 7, others say 10<sup>c</sup>. Her brothers Castor and Pollux returning from the *Argonautick Expedition*, released her, and she was afterwards the occasion of the *Trojan War*†. IV. *The Return of Sesostris \* into Egypt* after his wars in Thrace, which was but one *Generation* before the *Argonautick Expedition*. For 1. in his return to E-

number. He thinks that the *Argonautick Expedition* was an Embassy sent by the Greeks, during the intestine divisions of Egypt in the reign of Amenophis, to persuade the nations upon the coasts of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, to take that opportunity of shaking off the yoke of Egypt, which Sesostris had laid upon them: and that the fetching the Golden Fleece was only a pretence to cover their true design. I cannot omit the pleasant fancy of Suidas, that the *Golden Fleece* was a book of sheep-skin or parchment, containing the secret how to make *Gold*; or, as our modern Alchymists will have it, the *Philosopher's Stone*.

<sup>b</sup> Paus. l. 5. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Apollon. Argon. l. 1. ver. 101.

† We may add from Apollon. Arg. l. 1. ver. 588. That when Chiron's wife came with him to wish the Argonauts a good voyage, she had Achilles in her arms, whose father Peleus was one of the Argonauts, as was also Telamon the father of Ajax, &c.

\* Sesostris K. of Egypt made war successfully upon India, the Assyrians, Medes and Scythians; he conquered besides several Parts of Africa, Phœnicia, Syria, and all the Provinces of Asia minor, with Thrace and Colchis. His army was at last routed in Greece by Perseus, and this loss (together with the attempts of his brother Danaus to usurp the Throne in his absence) obliged him to return in the 9th year of his Expedition.

gypt

gypt he left Æetes in Colchis, who reigned there till the *Argonautick Expedition*. 2. He also left his nephew Prometheus to guard the pass at Mount Caucasus, who after 30 years stay there, was released by Hercules the Argonaut. 3. Phlyas and Eumedon, sons of the great Bacchus (so the Poets call Sesostris, as the Author shows in another place) and of Ariadne the daughter of Minos, were Argonauts. 4. At his return into Egypt, his brother Danaus with his 50 daughters † fled from him into Greece in a long ship, after the model of which the ship Argo was built, Argus the son of Danaus being the master-builder. 5. Nauplius the Argonaut was the son of Amydone daughter to Danaus, and of Neptune the brother and admiral of Sesostris. 6. Two of the daughters of Danaus married Archander and Archilites, the sons of Achæus, son of Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens: therefore they were three *Generations* younger than Erechtheus, and consequently contemporary with Theseus who was so too; being the son of Ægeus, the adopted son of Pandion, son of the same Erechtheus. Now Theseus was about 50 years of age at the time of the *Argonautick Expedition*, as was said above. Seeing therefore the daughters of Danaus were contemporary with Theseus, and some of their sons Argonauts, it follows that the *Return of Sesostris* into Egypt, and the Flight of Danaus thereupon into Greece, must have happened about one *Generation* before the *Argonautick Expedition*. Thus, you see, as all the particular events in ancient History are referred

† Danaus having formed a design to seize his brother's Crown, in order to secure it, commanded his 50 daughters to murder all their husbands, who were the sons of Sesostris. They all obeyed him but one; and thereupon Danaus made his escape with them into Greece.

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to one or other of these four celebrated periods, so these periods have such a mutual connection with one another, that the value of a *Generation* being once settled, whatever argument fixes one of them, determines the other three at the same time ; and by means of them, the chronology of every particular fact recorded in history.

I. The first which the Author endeavours to fix, is that of the *Return of the Heraclides*. The ancient Chronologers placed it 379 years before the end of the first Messenian war, computing the time, as usual, from the ten Kings of Sparta by one race, and the nine contemporary ones by the other <sup>d</sup>, the ten of Messene, and the nine of Arcadia, who all reigned in that interval ; which is at the rate of 38 years apiece to the ten, and 42 apiece to the nine. Now at our Author's medium, that space of 379 years must be reduced to 180 or 190.

2. Sir Isaac confirms this reckoning by another argument. Euryleon, the son of Ægeus commanded the main body of the Messenians • in

<sup>d</sup> Aristodemus, who brought back the Heraclides, died soon after their return. His sons Eurysthenes and Procles drove Penthilus and Tisamenus, the sons of Orestes, out of Lacedæmon, where they and their Descendants reigned for many generations two and two together. Of the two younger brothers of Aristodemus, Temenus had Argos and Mycenæ, and Cresphontes had Messenia.

<sup>e</sup> Messenia was a very fertile Province in Peloponnesus, (now the Morea) the Capital whereof was Messene ; at present an inconsiderable borough called Belvidera. The inhabitants had carried away by force some Spartan maids, and killed King Teleclus who demanded the restitution of them ; whereupon the Lacedæmonians made war upon them, and after twenty years subdued them. They continued to serve the Spartans 39 years, till Aristomenes persuaded them to revolt. But after 14 years struggle, they were utterly defeated, and to avoid death or slavery, fled by sea to

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in the 5th year of the first Messenian war<sup>f</sup>. He was in the 5th Generation from Oiolicus the son of Theras<sup>g</sup>, in the days of whom (Theras) the Heraclides returned; and consequently, from their return to the 5th year of this war were six *Generations*, which, as the Author conceives, being mostly by the eldest sons, can scarce exceed thirty years a-piece<sup>h</sup>, and so may amount to 170 or 180 years. This war lasted 19 or 20 years, whereof add the last 15 (having already reckoned to the 5th) and there will be about 190 years, as above, from the *Return of the Heraclides* to the end of the first Messenian war. Whereas those that follow the Greeks make it 379 years, which is above 60 years to a *Generation*.<sup>i</sup>

Sicily, where they gave the name of Messana to the City still called Messina.

<sup>f</sup> Paus. l. 4. c. 13. p. 28. & c. 7. p. 296. & l. 3. c. 15. p. 245.

<sup>g</sup> Id. l. 4. c. 7. p. 296.

<sup>h</sup> Or rather they could scarce amount to so much; unless it be pretended, that nature was so very backward in those days, that men were generally 30 years old before they had any children. See note <sup>v</sup> on pag. 261. So that there is no occasion to insist upon these Generations being by the eldest sons; the second or third will do.

<sup>i</sup> Of these two arguments, the first is a computation by the *mean length of the Reigns of Kings*, and the second by the *mean value of a Generation*, both applied to the same interval of time. You see they coincide so nearly, as to be a strong proof that both the mediums the Author uses are just and agreeable to the course of nature. These arguments do indeed prepare the way for fixing the period of the *Return of the Heraclides*, by bringing that event 189 years lower than it has hitherto been placed; but the chief use of them is to determine the *time when the first Messenian War ended*, when once that of the *Return of the Heraclides* is settled.

3. Xerxes, in the 6th year of his reign<sup>k</sup>, fought the battle of Thermopylæ, and slew Leonidas, the 17th King of Sparta from the *Return of the Heraclides*, by one race<sup>l</sup>. Leuty-chides II. was at the same time the 17th King of Sparta by the other race<sup>m</sup>, and died soon after Leonidas. The 17 reigns, at 20 years a-piece one with another, make up 340 years; which counted backward from the 6th of Xerxes, and allowing a year or two more for the wars of the Heraclides, and the short reign of Aristodemus, will place their return 159 years after the death of Solomon, 820 before Christ, and 46 before the first Olympiad. But the followers of the Greeks have set it 280 years earlier, which is at the rate of 37 years to a *Reign*, a greater medium than ought to be allowed for the length even of a *Generation*. Now, says the Author,

\* An. I. Olymp. 74. bef. Chr. 480. He entred Greece with an army of eight hundred thousand men, by a bridge which he made over the Hellespont. When he came to the Straits of Thermopylæ (a narrow pass, now called Boca di lupo, in mount Oeta, now Banima) which was the Key to Greece, he found them guarded by Leonidas with a very small force. He and his 300 Spartans, being forsaken by their Allies, bravely sacrificed their lives in defence of their country; but fell rather overcome by the fatigue of conquering than by the valour of the enemy, of whom an incredible number were slain. At the same time the Athenians obtained a signal victory over the Persian Fleet at Salamis, which being also exceedingly weakened by storms and shipwrecks, Xerxes was so terrified, that he retired precipitately into Persia. However, he left his army under the command of Mardonius his brother-in-law, who at first carried on the war with great success, and burnt Athens; but soon after both he and his troops were cut to pieces by Pausanias and Aristides at the famous battel of Plateæ.

<sup>l</sup> Herodot. l. 7.

<sup>m</sup> Id. l. 8.

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this being the computation upon which the Chronology of the times *before the Persian Empire* was founded, these times are to be shortened in the proportion of almost two to one: for those that follow the death of Cyrus are not much amiss.

4. Socrates died three years after the end of the Peloponnesian War<sup>n</sup>, and Plato<sup>o</sup> introduceth him saying, that *the Institutions of Lycurgus were but of 300 years standing, or not much more.* Thucydides<sup>p</sup> also, in the reading followed by Stephanus, saith, that *the Lacedæmonians had from antient times used good laws, and been free from tyranny; and that from the time they had used one and the same administration of the Commonwealth to the end of the Peloponnesian War, were 300 years, and a few more.* Count 300 years back from the end of the Peloponnesian War, and the Legislature of Lycurgus will fall upon the 19th Olympiad. And, according to Socrates, it might be upon the 22d or 23d<sup>q</sup>. Again;

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<sup>n</sup> The Lacedæmonians, always jealous of the growing power of Athens, stirred up several States to join with them in a war against their rivals. The Thebans began it, An. 2. Olymp. 87, and 431 bef. Ch. by seizing Plataeæ which belonged to the Athenians. Upon this the Peloponnesian War ensued between the latter and the Spartans, in which all Greece was engaged on the one side or the other. It lasted 27 years, and ended with the taking of Athens by Lysander, General of the Spartans, who established the 30 Tyrants in it, An. 1. Olymp. 94 and 404 bef. Chr. Socrates died 401 bef. Ch.

<sup>o</sup> In Minoe.

<sup>p</sup> L. 1. p. 13.

<sup>q</sup> The great Author seems to be mistaken here. For, supposing Socrates to have said what he here relates on the day of his death, it will place the Legislature of Lycurgus, at lowest, on An. 4. Olymp. 19. But if Socrates be supposed to have said this at any other time of his

Again; Athenæus<sup>r</sup> tells us from antient Authors, that Lycurgus was contemporary with Terpander, who was the first that obtained the victory at the *Carnéa*, a solemnity of musick instituted at Sparta in honour of Apollo in the 26th Olympiad. He overcame four times in those Pythic Games, and therefore lived at least till the 29th Olympiad: and beginning to flourish in the days of Lycurgus, it is not likely that the latter began to flourish much before the 18th Olympiad<sup>s</sup>. Again; Iphitus restored racing in the first Olympiad<sup>t</sup>; the double *Stadium* was added in the 14th; and in the 18th Wrestling and the *Quinquertium* were introduced. Now the Disc was one of the games of the *Quinquertium*; and as there were three Discs kept in the Olym-

his life, especially if you make any allowance for the words, *not much more*; and those others of Thucydides; *a few more*, instead of bringing the Legislature of Lycurgus down to the 22d or 23d Olympiad, you must put it back to the 16th or 17th. However, this mistake does not affect the main force of the argument, as we shall see; and besides, an Olympiad or two are not worth disputing.

<sup>r</sup> L. 14. p. 605.

<sup>s</sup> For between the beginning of the 18th Olympiad and that of the 29th, are 44 years.

<sup>t</sup> Pauf. l. 5. c. 8. Because I find some do not understand how Iphitus could restore the Olympic Games on the first Olympiad, it will be proper to observe here that Hercules Idæus, in memory of the war between Saturn and Jupiter, instituted *Racing*, and ordered the victor to be rewarded with a crown of olive. They were afterwards celebrated by many others in triumph for victories; but at no set time, so that they were often intermitted for a long while, till at last Iphitus having restored them made them quadrennial; and from hence began the first Olympiad 776 years before Christ. These games, and Jupiter to whom they were instituted, had the name of Olympic from Olympia, a place in Elea upon the confines of Pisa, where they were celebrated, and where there was a temple and an altar erected to Jupiter.

pick Treasury at Altis <sup>u</sup>, having the name of Lycurgus upon them, 'tis a proof that they were given by him at the institution of the *Quinquertium*, and consequently that he flourished in the 18th Olympiad. The Author's intention in settling the Age of Lycurgus with so much precision, is in order to determine that of Polydectes and Agefilaus Kings of Sparta. For Polydectes being killed before the birth of his son Charilaus, left the kingdom to his brother Lycurgus, who upon the birth of Charilaus became tutor to the young Prince, and till he grew up travelled into Crete and Asia <sup>w</sup>. Upon his return he published his laws (suppose in the 22d or 23d Olympiad, for he was then growing old) in the reign of Agefilaus King of Sparta, by the other branch. Now from the Return of the Heraclides to the death of Agefilaus were six Reigns, and as many from the same Return to the death of Polydectes; which at 20 years a-piece, one with another, make 120 years, besides the short reign of Aristodemus, father to Eurysthenes and Procles, the heads of the two races of Spartan Kings, which might be a year or two <sup>x</sup>. When Polydectes and Agefilaus

<sup>u</sup> Paus. l. 6. c. 9. Here the Author exposes the ignorance of some of the Antients, and the weakness of their reasonings in Chronology. For notwithstanding the evidence of what is here advanced, Aristotle, and others after him, finding the name of Lycurgus upon the Olympic Disc, concluded him to have been contemporary with Iphitus; as if all the Olympic Games had been introduced in the first Olympiad. Afterwards the Genealogists made both of them 112 years older than the first Olympiad.

<sup>w</sup> He was the first that brought Homer's Poems into Greece.

<sup>x</sup> Herod. l. 6. c. 52.

died

died is not certain ; but it is to be supposed Lycurgus did not meddle with the Olympic Games before the government fell into his hands. Polydeſtes therefore died in the beginning of the 18th Olympiad, or a very little while before. Ageſilaus ſurvived him ſome time ; for the laws of Lycurgus were publiſhed in his reign. Suppoſe then the 20th Olympiad in or very near the middle time between the deaths of theſe two Kings, and from thence count back the aforeſaid 120 years, and one or two more for the ſhort reign of Ariſtodemus, the *Return of the Heraclides* will be 45 or 46 years before the firſt Olympiad ʔ.

5. Iphitus, who reſtored the Olympic games, is by ſome reckoned the ſon of Hæmon ; by others, the ſon of Praxonidas the ſon of Hæmon. Pauſanias <sup>2</sup> ſays he was *deſcended* from Oxylus the ſon of Hæmon. Hence our Author thinks we may reconcile theſe different accounts, by ſaying that Iphitus was the ſon of Praxonidas, the ſon of Oxylus, the ſon of Hæmon. This Oxylus returned with the Heraclides. And

ʔ Seeing Lycurgus evidently introduced the *Quinquennial* in the 18th Olympiad, we may as reaſonably ſuppoſe that he travelled and publiſhed his Laws before as after this, and from what has been ſaid Note 9 p. 268. and from his going to travel about eight months after the birth of his nephew Charilaus, it ſeems reaſonable to think he did. Polydeſtes then died about the 15th Olympiad, and Ageſilaus lived ſome time after Lycurgus publiſhed his Laws. Let us ſuppoſe the middle time between their deaths, An. 1. Olym. 17. and that Lycurgus publiſhed his Laws in that year: the fix reigns at 18 years a-piece, with two for Ariſtodemus, will place the *Return of the Heraclides* 46 years before the firſt Olympiad, 820 before Chriſt, and 159 after the death of Solomon, who died 979 before Chriſt.

by this reckoning their return will be two Generations by the eldest sons, or 52 <sup>a</sup> years before the first Olympiad.

6. Pausanias <sup>b</sup> represents that Melas was contemporary with Aletes, who returned with the Heraclides; and also that he was older than Cypselus King of Corinth by no more than six Generations, or 180 years, which is 30 <sup>a</sup>-piece. Chronologers say the reign of Cypselus began An. 2. Olymp. 31. From thence if you count back 180 years, the *Return of the Heraclides* will fall on the 58th year before the first Olympiad. But it might not be so early, if the reign of Cypselus began three or four Olympiads later; which is not improbable, for he reigned before the Persian Empire arose, and it has been shown that the Chronology of those times was pretty much stretched.

II. The Author having thus fixed the *Return of the Heraclides* to about the 46th year before the first Olympiad, or 159 after Solomon's death, proceeds to determine the time of the *Destruction of Troy*. It has already been shown to have happened 80 years before that *Return* †. But further :

I. When the Romans conquered Carthage, the Archives of that City came into their hands; and thence Appian, in his history of the Punic Wars, tells us in round numbers that Carthage

<sup>a</sup> If you will allow, as it is very probable, that a man might be a father by 23 in those days, these two Generations by the *eldest* sons will make him but 46 years. See Note † p. 261.

<sup>b</sup> L. I. c. 18.

† See p. 262.

**Good**



flood 700 years. Solinus † adds the odd numbers, and makes it 737. Now Carthage was destroyed in the year of the Julian Period 4568 <sup>c</sup>. Count from thence backward 737 years, and the *Encœnia* or Dedication (from which the *Æra* of the city must be reckoned) will fall on the 16th <sup>a</sup> of Pygmalion, Dido's brother, and King of Tyre, from whom she had fled in the 7th of his reign <sup>c</sup>. Now Virgil, and Servius upon him (who might probably receive some information from the records of Tyre and Cyprus, as well as from those of Carthage) relate that Teucer came from the Trojan War to Cyprus a little before Pygmalion's reign, and being assisted by his and Dido's father seized Cyprus, and drove out Cinyras. The Marbles also say, that Teucer came to Cyprus seven years after the *Destruction of Troy*, and built Salamis; and Apollodorus tells us, that Cinyras married Pigmalion's daughter Metharme. If these things be true, the destruction of Troy must have happened about 76 years after the death of Solomon.

2. Latinus reigned in Italy about the time of the Trojan War <sup>f</sup>. Numitor was the 16th King after Latinus, and in his days Romulus built Rome. After Romulus reigned six Kings more. From Latinus therefore to the first Consuls were 22 Kings (for Numitor and Romulus were con-

† C. 30.

<sup>c</sup> 146 Years before Christ; add the 737 that Carthage stood, the 16 of Pigmalion's reign, and the three or four more for the time Teucer came to Cyprus, it will make 903, and Solomon died 979 before Christ.

<sup>a</sup> 883 before Christ, 96 after the death of Solomon. Jul. Per. 3831. P. Petau reckons this year but the 12th of Pigmalion.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. 1. *cont. Apion.*

<sup>f</sup> Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 15.

temporary) which at 18 years a-piece, many of them having been slain, make 396 years. These counted back from the Consulship of Brutus and Publicola, place the Trojan War about 78 years after the death of Solomon.

III. The next Period is that of the *Argonautic Expedition*, for determining whereof the Author uses these arguments.

1. Hercules the Argonaut was the father of Hyllus, the father of Cleodius, the father of Aristomachus, the father of Aristodemus who led the Heraclides back into Peloponnesus. Whence it appears that their *Return* was four *Generations* later than the *Argonautic Expedition*, and but short ones, being by the chief of the family. This agrees with the reckoning of Thucydides and the Antients, that Troy was taken 75 or 80 years (the amount of three *Generations*) before the Return of the Heraclides, and the Argonautic Expedition one Generation before the taking of Troy. Troy was taken therefore about 76 years, and the Argonautic Expedition happened about 43 years after the death of Solomon.

2. Æsculapius and Hercules were Argonauts. Hippocrates was the 18th inclusively from the former by the father's side, and the 19th from the latter by the mother's side. As these Generations are much taken notice of by Writers, they were probably by the chief of the family, and so for the most part by the eldest sons. We may therefore allow 28, or at most 30 years to

\* 509 before Chr. add 396, the sum is 905 before Ch. and 74 after Solomon's death,

each

each of them ; and at a middle reckoning <sup>h</sup> the 17 intervals by the father, and the 18 by the mother, will amount to 507 years. These counted back from the commencement of the Peloponnesian War <sup>i</sup> when Hippocrates began to flourish, will place the *Argonautick Expedition* in the 43d † year after Solomon's death.

IV. The Author next proceeds to fix the time of the *Return of Sesostris into Egypt* after his wars in Thrace. It has already been proved to have been one *Generation* earlier than the *Argonautick Expedition* : Therefore it must have been in the days of Rehoboam. Now Sefac was also King of all Egypt at one and the same time <sup>a</sup>. They were therefore one and the same person. Nor do they agree in the time only, but also in their actions and conquests ; for God gave Sefac the *kingdoms of the lands* <sup>b</sup>. Josephus <sup>c</sup> confirms this opinion, when he says that Herodotus erred in ascribing to Sesostris the actions that were really done by Sefac ; that is, he called Sefac by a wrong name. But further ; Egypt, like other nations, was at first divided into many petty kingdoms, and reduced under one monarchy by degrees. The shepherds, who reigned long in the lower Egypt, while the upper was subject to other Kings, were driven out but a little before the building of the Temple, according to Manetho. Now, while Egypt was thus divided, there was no room for any such

<sup>h</sup> The 17 at 30 a-piece make 510 ; and the 18 at 28 a-piece make 504 : the middle is 507.

<sup>i</sup> 431 before Christ.

† 937 before Christ.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. c. xii.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ver. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Ant. l. 4. c. 8.

King as Sesostris. The father of Solomon's Queen was the first that came out of Egypt into Phœnicia with an army ; but his exploits ended in taking Gezir only, of which he made a present to his daughter. Sefac was the next King, and he marched out with an army of Lybians, Troglodites and Ethiopians<sup>d</sup>, and therefore must have been King of all those countries. But no Historian makes Sesostris later than Sefac ; and since he could not be earlier, they must be the same. Now this is a very essential point : for if you grant, as our great Chronologer Sir J. Marsham does, that Sesostris was Sefac, it is then most certain that Sesostris came out of Egypt<sup>e</sup> in the 5th of Rehoboam ; that he spent nine years in his expedition<sup>f</sup> ; and therefore returned in the 14th of Rehoboam ; that Danaus fled into Greece a year or two after ; and that the *Argonautick Expedition* being one *Generation* later than the *Return of Sesostris* and the arrival of Danaus in Greece, and 30 years<sup>g</sup> after Prometheus was left on mount Caucasus, was undoubtedly 40 or 45 years after the death of Solomon ; the *Destruction of Troy* one *Generation* later, or 76 years after the death of Solomon, and the *Return of the Heraclides* 75 or 80 years later, or 156 years after that King's death<sup>h</sup>, or thereabouts.

Thus far our excellent Author argues from historical facts, compared and connected toge-

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 3.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 35.

<sup>g</sup> See pag. 261.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 261. and Notes.

ther

ther in the most dextrous manner, into a chain of invincible reasoning, and fixed to their proper periods and distances by a computation from the mean value of *Reigns* and *Generations*, founded on experience and the course of nature.

The arguments that follow are no less forcible ; but being drawn from Astronomy, they will not be so readily comprehended by every Reader. However, let us try to make them as intelligible as their nature will admit.

To prepare the way, our Author gives a very curious account of the origin and progress of Astronomy : but I shall here take notice only of what seems directly to concern the argument. The ancient Greek Calendar consisted of 12 Lunar months, and each month of 30 days. These years and months they corrected from time to time by the courses of the sun and moon, omitting a day or two in the month, as often as they found it too long for the course of the moon, and adding a month to the year, as often as they found the 12 Lunar months too short for the return of the four seasons. For the length of the solar year was discovered by the Egyptians of Thebais no earlier than about 96 years after the death of Solomon, and not exactly then neither. This *Lunisolar* year, by reason of the *Intercalary month*, began sometimes a week or fortnight before the Equinox or Solstice, and sometimes as much after ; which gave occasion to the first Astronomers, who formed the *Asterisms*, to place the Equinoxes and

<sup>i</sup> Some began the year upon the Summer, others on the Winter Solstice ; some again upon the Vernal, others upon the Autumnal Solstice.

Sol-

Solstices in the *middles* † of the *Constellations* Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn. Now Chiron delineated the *Asterisms*, *ἄσπερα ἰσόμενα*, as Clemens Alexandrinus <sup>k</sup> informs us from the ancient Author of *Gigantomachia*. Further; Musæus the master of Orpheus, and one of the Argonauts, made a sphere<sup>l</sup>, and is reckoned the first among the Greeks that made one. Again; the sphere itself shows that it was formed at the time of the Argonautick Expedition, which is delineated in the *Asterisms*, together with several more ancient Histories, but not one thing later: for *Antinous* and *Coma Berenices* are novel. It is therefore very probable that the Sphere was formed by Chiron and Musæus for the use of the Argonauts; for the ship *Argo* was the first long Vessel built by the Greeks; the first that ventured through the deep, out of the sight of land, by the help of sails, and guided only by the stars. Add, that the *Corcyræans* <sup>m</sup> attributed the invention of the Sphere to *Nausicaa*, the daughter of *Alcinous* King of the *Phœaces* in that island. But 'tis most likely she had it from the Argonauts, who in their return home sailed to *Corcyra*, and staid some time with her father. Now *Eudoxus* who flourished 60 years after *Meton*, and 100 before *Aratus*, in describing the Sphere of the *Ancients*, (*i. e.* the *primitive* Sphere) placed the Equinoxes and Solstices in the *middles* of the *Constellations* Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn <sup>n</sup>. So also

† The *middle* of the *Constellation* is not always in the *middle*, or 15th degree of the *sign* which bears its name, but sometimes very far from it.

<sup>k</sup> Strom. 1. p. 306, 352.

<sup>l</sup> Laert. Proœm. l. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Suid. in 'Ανταλλίς.

<sup>n</sup> Hipparch. Bithyn. ad Phœnom. L. 2. Sect. 3.

did

did Aratus, who copied Eudoxus<sup>o</sup>; and so it appears by the Sphere of Eudoxus, described by Hipparchus. It is plain therefore that at the time of the Argonautick Expedition, the Cardinal Points of the Equinoxes and Solstices were in the *middles* of the *Constellations* Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn.

This main point being established, the Author proceeds to argue thus. 1. The Equinoctial Colure<sup>p</sup> in the end of the year 1689 cut the Ecliptick in  $8^{\circ} 6'. 44'$ . and by this reckoning the Equinox was then gone back  $36^{\circ} 44'$ . since the Argonautick Expedition. But it recedes 50 seconds in a year, or one degree in 72 years, and consequently  $36^{\circ} 44'$ . in 2645 years; which counted backward from the end of 1689, or rather the beginning of 1690, place that Expedition about 25 years after the death of Solomon. This is pretty near what was proved before: But

2. It is not necessary to suppose that what they called in general the *middles* of the *Constellations*, should be exactly in the middle between the *Prima Arietis* and the *Ultima Caudæ*. Seeing Eudoxus described the *primitive* Sphere, or what was in *his* days called the Sphere of the *Ancients*, as was shown above, we may reasonably fix the Cardinal Points at the time of the Expedition, by the stars through which he made the Colures pass in that Sphere. Those Stars,

<sup>o</sup> Id. Lib. 1. Sect. 2.

<sup>p</sup> The Equinoctial Colure is a great Circle, passing through the Poles of the Equator, and cutting the Ecliptick in the Equinoxes at an Angle of  $66\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

which

which Hipparchus particularly mentions, our Author accurately examines, and finds that the great Circle which in the *primitive* Sphere, according to Eudoxus, (and consequently at the time of the Argonautick Expedition) was the Equinoctial Colure, did in the end of 1689 cut the Ecliptick in  $\gamma$   $6^{\circ} 29' 15''$ , as near as can be determined by the rude observations of the Ancients: that is, it had gone back  $36^{\circ} 29'$  since Chiron's time, which amounts to 2627 years. These counted backward, as above, place the Argonautick Expedition 43 years after Solomon's death.

3. By the same method, the place of any star in the *primitive* Sphere may easily be found; viz. by counting backwards 1 sign, 6 degrees, 29 minutes from its Longitude  $\gamma$  at the end of 1689. The *Lucida Pleiadum*, for instance, at the time of the Expedition was in  $\gamma$   $19^{\circ} 26' 8''$ . Now Thales <sup>r</sup> determined the *occasus matutinus* of the *Pleiades* in his time, to be on the 25th day after the Autumnal Equinox; and thence P. Petan <sup>s</sup> computes the *Pleiades* to have been then in  $\gamma$   $23^{\circ} 53'$ . Consequently the *Lucida Pleiadum* had moved from the Equinox since the Expedition  $4^{\circ} 26' 52''$ , which answer to 320 years. These counted back from the 41st Olympiad, when Thales was a young man fit for mathematical studies, will place the Argonautick Expedition about 44 years after the death of Solomon. By this reckoning, the Cardinal Points in the days of Thales must have

<sup>r</sup> That is, its distance from the beginning of Aries.

<sup>s</sup> Plin. l. 18. c. 23.

<sup>t</sup> Var. Differt. l. 1. c. 25.

been



been in the middles of the 11th deg. of the signs; though he, leaning perhaps too much to the opinion of the Ancients, places them in the 12th: for the precession of the Equinoxes was not yet thought of.

4. Meton and Euctemon<sup>c</sup>, in order to settle the Lunar Cycle of 19 years, observed the Summer Solstice in the year of Nabonassar 316<sup>u</sup>, and placed it in the 8th deg. of Cancer<sup>x</sup>; that is, at least 7 degrees backwarder than at first, which answer to 504 years. Count these back from the year of Nabonassar 316<sup>v</sup>, and the Argonautick Expedition will fall on the 44th<sup>z</sup> year after Solomon's death, or thereabout.

5. The precession of the Equinoxes, or their motion backwards in respect of the fixt Stars, was first discovered by the great Hipparchus, upon comparing his own observations with those of former Astronomers. He made his observations between the years of Nabonassar 586 and 618; suppose at a medium in 602<sup>a</sup>, which is 286 years after Meton and Euctemon made theirs; and in that interval the Equinoxes must have gone back 4 deg. that is, 11 deg. since the Argonautick Expedition, or in 1090 years according to the Greek Chronology. Hipparchus finding this, concluded that the Equinoxes went back only one deg. in about 100 years. And

<sup>c</sup> Petav. Doct. Temp. l. 4. c. 26.

<sup>u</sup> Columel. l. 9. c. 14. Plin. l. 18. c. 25.

<sup>x</sup> This *Æra* begun Feb. 26. in the year of the Julian period 3967; before Christ 747.

<sup>v</sup> Before Christ 433.

<sup>z</sup> Or rather 42d.

<sup>a</sup> Before Christ 147.

how indeed could he establish any other proportion, if, as we must think, he believed the Greek Chronology? As their false Chronology occasioned his error in fixing that proportion, so that error being now corrected, will rectify their Chronology. For 11 deg. at one deg. in 72 years, answer to 792 years; which counted backward from the year of Nabonassar 602, place the Argonautick Expedition about 43<sup>b</sup> years after the death of Solomon<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Rather 40.

<sup>c</sup> The illustrious Author does not seem to have given this argument all the force of which it is capable. To me it is absolute demonstration, and alone sufficient to establish all that Sir Isaac had advanced before. For what method can we suppose Hipparchus did or could take to fix this ratio of the precession of the Equinoxes to 1 deg. in 100 years? No other certainly than that of examining the positions of the colures at certain *known* distances of time, and comparing them with one another, and with the points through which they passed in his own days. Now, if he did this, and believed the Greek Chronology (and what other accounts could he follow?) then it is plain from the conclusion he drew, that he believed the positions of the colures at the time of the Argonautick Expedition to be the same that Sir Isaac has given us, and that they both understood Eudoxus in the same manner: and sure none can pretend to understand him better *now* than Hipparchus did. If this was not the cause of his error, as it certainly must have been, yet it is an evident consequence of it, which such a man as Hipparchus could not avoid perceiving. In short, either he argued thus: *It is 1090, or say 1100 years since the Argonautick Expedition; and the Colures are now 11 deg. more backward than they were at that time; therefore they move 1 deg. in 100 years:* or he must have argued thus; *It is 1100 years since the Argonautick Expedition; the Equinoxes recede 1 deg. in 100 years, and consequently they were then 11 deg. distant from their present position.* If he had explained Eudoxus as Sir Isaac's adversaries do, he could not possibly have formed either of these conclusions.

6. The Longitude of the Star Arcturus at the time of the Argonautick Expedition, is found, by the abovementioned method, to have been  $13^{\circ}.24'.52''$ . Hesiod <sup>d</sup> tells us that 60 days after the winter Solstice, it rose in his time just at Sun-set. If so, he flourished about 57 years after the Argonautick Expedition, or 100 years after the death of Solomon ; that is, as has been shown, in the *Generation* or *Age* next after the Trojan war : and so indeed he himself tells us <sup>e</sup> ? Is it possible to conceive that an astronomical Calculation of time, agreeing so nicely with certain matter of fact, can be false ?

7. We may add here another argument of the same nature. The antient Egyptians used the Lunisolar year of 360 days. But in the reign of Ammon, the father of Osiris or Sefac, the Thebans applying themselves to Navigation and Astronomy, determined the length of the Solar year by the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and added five days to the old Calendar year <sup>f</sup>. In the reign of Amenophis, which was not long after, they probably begun to make use of this year, and placed the *first day* of it upon the *Vernal Equinox*, having in the mean while sufficiently determined the time of the solstices <sup>g</sup>.

This

<sup>d</sup> Oper. & Di. v. 562. He lived at Ascra in Bœotia.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. v. 172.

<sup>f</sup> This is probable, because the five additional days were dedicated to his five children, the Egyptians feigning they were added when these five Princes were born.

<sup>g</sup> This is also probable ; for Diod. l. i. p. 32. tells us they placed in the sepulchre of Amenophis a golden circle of 365 cubits in compass, divided into 365 equal parts, to represent all the days of the year, and noted upon

This year being at length propagated into Chaldaea, gave occasion to the year of Nabonassar <sup>h</sup>; for the years of Nabonassar, and those of Egypt, began on one and the same day, by both called Thoth, and were equal and in every respect the same. The first of Nabonassar began Feb. 26. of the old Roman year, 747 years before the Christian *Æra*, and 33 *days 5 hours* before the Vernal Equinox <sup>i</sup>. Now reckoning that their year of 365 days wants 5 hours 49 minutes of the Equinoctial year, the beginning of it must have moved backward 33 *days 5 hours* in 137 years: and consequently this year must have begun at first in Egypt upon the Vernal Equinox, according to the sun's mean motion, 137 years before the *Æra* of Nabonassar began; that is, in the year of the Julian period 3830, or 96 years after the death of Solomon: and if it began the

upon each day the heliacal risings and settings of the stars. This circle they certainly placed there in memory of his having introduced this year, and it remained till the invasion of Egypt by Cambyfes King of Persia. We cannot suppose they could have determined the solstices to any exactness much sooner. For the same Author, l. 3. p. 13. says, that in the temple of Osiris, i. e. Sefac, the Priests appointed for that purpose filled 360 milk bowls, one every day, to find out the difference between the Calendar and the true Solar year; which was but a coarse way of observation, and yet being made in the temple of Osiris, must have been after Sefac's death, between whom and Amenophis reigned only Sefac's brother Orus.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Isaac differs here from the other Chronologers, who fancied that the Egyptians received this year from the Chaldeans. But it is not difficult to determine on which side the greatest appearance of truth lies.

<sup>i</sup> According to the sun's mean motion; for it is not likely the *Equation* should be known in this infancy of Astronomy.

next

next day after the Equinox, it might be four years sooner, or only 92 after Solomon's death. Now the antient Greeks reckoned this Aménophis to have reigned in Egypt at the time of the Trojan War, feigning him to have been the son of Tithonus, Priam's elder brother, and to have come to his uncle's assistance from Susa, where he was with his army in the last year of that War. He was therefore of an age with Priam's elder children, and after he had finished the Memnonia at Susa, he might return to Egypt, and adorn it with buildings, obelisks and statues, and also settle the beginning of the new Egyptian year of 365 days about 90, or 95 years after the death of Solomon. And consequently the destruction of Troy was probably about 76 years after Solomon's death.

' From all these circumstances, says the Author, ' grounded upon the coarse observations of the ' Antients, we may reckon it certain that the Ar- ' gonautick Expedition was not earlier than the ' reign of Solomon : and if these Astronomical ' arguments be added to those taken from the mean ' length of the reigns of kings according to the ' course of nature, from the whole we may safely ' conclude that it was after the death of Solomon ; ' and most probably about 43 years after it.

The Author having thus settled these four principal Periods (*viz.* the *Return of Sesostris into Egypt* after his conquests about 14 years after the death of Solomon; the *Argonautick Expedition* about 43 years after the death of Solomon; the *Destruction of Troy* about 76 or 78 years after the death of Solomon; and the *Return of the Heraclides* into Peloponnesus about 156, or 158 years after the death of Solomon) proceeds to fix some other points of antient history. As,

APRIL 1727.

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I. That

I. That *Sesostris* was the same King of Egypt with *Bacchus* and *Osiris* <sup>k</sup>. For, 1. *Arrian* <sup>l</sup> tells us the Arabians worshipped only two Gods, *Coelus* (otherwise called *Uranus* and *Jupiter Uranius*) and *Dionysus*; and the latter for the glory of leading his army into India. Now *Dionysus* was *Bacchus*, who is by all Antiquity, both Egyptian and Greek, agreed to have been the same King of Egypt with *Osiris*. This *Bacchus*, according to *Homer* <sup>m</sup>, was caught in bed with *Venus* the mistress of  *Anchises* and *Cinyras*, and the mother of *Aeneas*, who all lived till the siege of *Troy*. And *Hesiod* <sup>n</sup> tells us he married *Ariadne* the daughter of *Minos*, by whom he had *Phlyas* and *Eumedon* both Argonauts. By the testimony therefore both of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who wrote before the Greeks had corrupted their antiquities, *Bacchus* was

<sup>k</sup> Sir Isaac observes, that *Sesostris*, by reason of his great conquests, was celebrated by several names in the different languages of several nations. The Chaldeans, says he, called him *Belus*, i. e. *the Lord*; the Arabians *Bacchus*, i. e. *the Great*; the Phrygians, *Ma-fors*, *Mavors*, or *Mars*, i. e. *the Valliant*: whence the Amazons whom he carried from *Thrace*, and left at *Thermodon*, called themselves *the daughters of Mars*. The Egyptians before his reign called him their *Hero* or *Hercules* (though some pretend that the word is originally Phœnician, in which language *Harokal* signified a *Merchant*); and after his death, on account of the great works he had done to the Nile, they dedicated that river to him, and deified him by its names, *Sibor*, *Nilus*, and *Egyptus*; and the Greeks hearing them lament *O Sibor*, *Bon Sibor*, called him *Osiris* and *Bufris*.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. 7.

<sup>m</sup> *Odyss.* l. 8. v. 292. *Homer* calls him *Mars*, not *Bacchus*: but according to Sir Isaac they are the same, and they agree in their actions.

<sup>n</sup> *Theog.* v. 947.

one

one *Generation* older than the *Argonautick Expedition*, and being King of all Egypt at the same time with Sesostris, must be one and the same with him.

2. Sesostris, Bacchus, and Osiris agree in their actions too. As they lived about the same time, they were all three Kings of all Egypt, reigned at Thebes, adorned that city, and were very potent both by sea and land, were great conquerors, carried their victories by land thro' Asia as far as India, came over the Hellespont, were there in danger of losing their army, conquered Thrace, put a stop to their victories there, returned back thence into Egypt, left pillars with inscriptions in their conquests: All three having done all these actions, must have been one and the same King of Egypt; and this King can be no other than Sefac, as has been already shown °.

3. Thymætes ¢, contemporary to Orpheus, wrote a poem upon the exploits of Bacchus, who, he says, had Libyan women in his army, and amongst them Minerva, who commanded the women as he did the men. Diodorus ¶ calls her Myrina, Queen of the Amazons in Lybia, and says that she was slain with many of her women by the Thracians and Scythians, who assisted \* Perseus in that battel, which obliged Bacchus to return home. By the way he left his women upon the river Thermodon ¤ under their new Queens Marthesia and Lampeto. Marthesia being slain was succeeded by her daughter Orithya,

° Vid. p. 275, 276.

¢ Diod. l. 3. p. 140.

¶ Id. l. 3. p. 131, 132.

¤ Pauf. l. 2. c. 20.

\* Diod. l. 3. p. 130. Schol. Apollon. l. 2. Ammian. l. 22. c. 8. Justin. l. 2. c. 4.

and she by Penthesilea. Now Theseus captivated and married Antiope the sister of Orithya; and Hercules made war upon the Amazons, and in the reign of Orithya and Penthesilea they came to the Trojan war. Therefore the first wars of the Amazons in Europe and Asia, and their settling at Thermodon, were but *one Generation* before these actions of Theseus and Hercules, and but *two* before the Trojan war, and so fall in with the expedition of Sesostris; and since they warred in the army of Bacchus or Osiris, these three must be the same person, and one and the same with Sefac.

4. Bacchus and Osiris were both the sons of Jupiter, whose Egyptian name was Ammon. Sesostris was also the son of Ammon, and built Thebes, which in honour of his father he called *No-Ammon*, and the Greeks interpreted *Diospolis*.

II. That *the reign of Sefac ended in the fifth year of Afa*<sup>r</sup>. For in the 15th of his reign<sup>u</sup> Afa was attacked by Zerah the Ethiopian, who having drowned Orus the son of Osiris in Eridanus, or the Nile, was then master of Egypt. Before that Afa had peace for ten years<sup>x</sup>, and was free from the dominion of Egypt (because of its being involved in wars at home;) so that he had time to fortify Egypt, and raise that army of 580 thousand men, wherewith he utterly routed Zerah. Now none of these things could be done during the life of Sefac, whose servants the Israelites were<sup>y</sup>. Therefore in all probability it was in the fifth of Afa that Sefac, Sesostris, Bacchus, or Osiris was killed by his brother Japetus, Typhon, Python, or Neptune.

<sup>r</sup> 25 after the death of Solomon.

<sup>u</sup> 2 Chron. xiv. 9. and xv. 10, 11.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 6.

<sup>y</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 8.



III. That *Cadmus brought Letters and Arts into Greece about the 16th of David's Reign.* For, 1. Androgeos the son of Minos, upon his overcoming in the *Athenæa*, or Quadrennial Games at Athens in his youth, was perfidiously slain out of envy. Minos having for this reason made war upon the Athenians, compelled them to send every eighth year seven beardless youths, and as many young virgins to Crete, to be given as a reward to him that should be victor in the like games instituted there in honour of Androgeos. Upon the third payment of this tribute, that is, 17 years after the end of the war, and about 19 or 20 after the death of Androgeos, Theseus became victor, and returned with Ariadne the daughter of Minos; but coming to the island Naxos, he there left her<sup>2</sup>. She was taken up by Glaucus an Egyptian commander at sea, and carried to Bacchus, or Sesostris, then returning in triumph from India, whose mistress she became. After his army was routed by Perseus the Greeks did him great honours, and built a temple to him at Argos, which they called the *Temple of the Cretian Bacchus*, because Ariadne was buried in it<sup>3</sup>. She died therefore towards the end of the war, just before the return of Sesostris into Egypt in the 14th of Rehoboam: for she accompanied him some time in his triumphs, after her being taken from Naxos at his return out of India, which must consequently have been 4 or 5 years before. Therefore the expedition of Theseus into Crete, and his leaving Ariadne in the island Naxos, must have

<sup>2</sup> 1. ap. Athenæum. l. 67. p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Paul. l. 2. c. 23.

been about the 9th or 10th of Rehoboam<sup>b</sup>. Now Androgeos was slain about 20 years before<sup>c</sup>, as has been said, being then about 20 or 22 years of age<sup>d</sup>; and his father Minos<sup>e</sup> might be about 25 years older, and so be born about the middle of David's reign<sup>f</sup>. But Europa, the sister of Cadmus, became the mother of Minos very soon after her coming into Greece<sup>g</sup>; and her brother came about the same time with her, which consequently must have been near about the 18th of David's reign.

2. Rehoboam was born in the last year of K. David's reign; for he was 41 years old at the death of his father Solomon<sup>h</sup>, who might therefore be born in the 18th of David, or before<sup>i</sup>. Two or three years before his

<sup>a</sup> This may be confirmed by another argument. It has been said (p. 261.) that Theseus was 50 years old *a little before* the Argonautic Expedition, 43 years after the death of Solomon. If so, he was born in the 53d of Solomon's reign, or rather sooner. Now at the time of his going to Crete he was a *beardless* young man, and in the 10th of Rehoboam, according to this account, he must have been 17 or 18, or rather more.

<sup>b</sup> i. e. in the 25th or 30th of Solomon.

<sup>c</sup> i. e. he was born in the 5th or 8th of Solomon.

<sup>e</sup> Chronologers have made two Kings of Crete of this name, of whom they pretend the father of Androgeos was grandson to him that was born of Europa.

<sup>f</sup> On the 22d or 23d of David. If you suppose Minos 30 years older than his son Androgeos, his birth will fall on the 18th of David.

<sup>g</sup> For it was fabled that Jupiter in the shape of a bull, having carried her out of Asia into Europe, ravished her and begot Minos.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 21. and Solomon reigned 40 years, *ibid.* xi. 42.

<sup>i</sup> That is, he might be 22 or more, when his eldest son was born: for David also reigned 40 years, 1 King. ii. 11.

birth,

birth<sup>e</sup>, David besieged Rabbah ; before this siege<sup>d</sup> he vanquished the Ammonites and their Confederates the Syrians ; and before this war begun, he smote Moab, Ammon and Edom<sup>e</sup>, and made the Edomites fly, some into Egypt with their young King Hadad<sup>f</sup>, and others to the Philistims ; and before this he had several battels with the Philistims. Now all these things being done before Solomon's birth, and also after David's coming from Hebron to Jerusalem in the 8th year of his reign ; we cannot err above two or three years, if we place the victory over Edom in the 11th or 12th, and that over Ammon and the Syrians in the 14th of David's reign. Add that Hadad, who upon this victory over the Edomites fled into Egypt being yet a little child, grew up, married the sister of Pharaoh's Queen, and had a son by her before the death of David<sup>g</sup>. David therefore having conquered the Edomites in the 12th of his reign, some of them, especially the Merchants and Seamen, fled from the Red Sea to the Philistims upon the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azoth<sup>h</sup>. The Philistims being now grown strong by the accession of the Edomites, and the shepherds driven out of Egypt about this time, seized Zidon, a town very convenient for the Merchants that came from the Red Sea. Upon this the Zidonians fled by Sea

<sup>e</sup> For David fell in love with Bathsheba, and lay with her while his army besieged Rabbah ; and Solomon was his second child by her, for the eldest died. 2 Sam. xi. 1, 2. Ibid. c. xii.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. c. x. & c. xi. 1.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. c. viii.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Kings xi. 17.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Kings xi. 19, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> Steph. in *Azoth*.

to Tyre<sup>i</sup>, Aradus<sup>k</sup>, and other havens in Asia minor, Greece and Lybia. For they went with a great multitude<sup>l</sup>, not to seek Europa, as was pretended, but to seek new seats, and therefore fled from their enemies. While some fled to Asia minor, Cilicia, and Greece, under Cadmus and his brothers; others fled to Lybia under other Commanders, and there built several walled towns<sup>m</sup>, from whence many went afterwards with the great Bacchus in his armies: and their Leader was also there called *Cadmus*, i. e. an *Eastern man*, and his wife *Sitbonis*, i. e. a *Zidonian*. By these circumstances, says our Author, the taking of Zidon, the flight of it's inhabitants, the building of Tyre and Thebes, and the beginning of the reigns of Abibalus and Cadmus over them, are fixed to the 15th or 16th of David's reign.

3. All this is strongly confirmed by what follows. Tatian<sup>n</sup> says, there were three ancient Phœnician Historians, translated into Greek by Lætus, who all related under which of their Kings the rapture of Europa happened, and mentioned the league between Solomon and Hiram; and he adds, that the same was to be found in Menander of Pergamus. And Josephus<sup>o</sup> tells us, that the annals of the Tyrians from the days of Abibalus and Hiram were extant in his time, and that Menander of Pergamus translated them in-

<sup>i</sup> Just. l. 18. This could not be long before Solomon; for in the *beginning* of his reign, he calls the inhabitants of Tyre *Zidonians*, 1 Kings v. 6. so that these new comers had not yet lost their old name. And Isaiah xxiii. 2, 12. calls Tyre the *daughter of Zidon*, and the *isle* which the merchants of Zidon have replenished.

<sup>k</sup> Strab. l. 16.

<sup>l</sup> Conon. l. 32. & 37.

<sup>m</sup> Nonn. Dionysiac. l. 13. ver. 333.

<sup>n</sup> Cont. Græc.

<sup>o</sup> Antiq. l. 8. c. 5. & l. 9. c. 14.

to Greek ; that Hiram's friendship to Solomon was mentioned in them ; that the Temple was founded in the 11th of Hiram, which was the 4th of Solomon <sup>p</sup>. Now by the testimony of Menander and the ancient Phœnician writers abovementioned, the rapture of Europa, and consequently the arrival of her brother Cadmus in Greece, happened within the reigns of the kings of Tyre mentioned in these Histories; and therefore not before the reign of Abibalus the first of them, and father of Hiram, nor before that of David who was his contemporary. It follows therefore that Solomon reigned in the times between the raptures of Europa and Helena, and that Europa and her brother Cadmus flourished in the days of David. Minos, the son of Europa, flourished in the reign of Solomon, and part of the reign of Rehoboam ; and that the children of Minos (*viz* Androgeos his eldest son, Deucalion his youngest, and one of the Argonauts, Ariadne the mistress first of Theseus and then of Bacchus <sup>q</sup>, and Phœdra the wife of Theseus) flourished in the latter days of Solomon, and in the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah and Aza ; Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos, was at the siege of Troy <sup>r</sup> ; Hiram succeeded his father Abiba-

<sup>p</sup> 1 Kings vi. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Bacchus is said to have been the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus. And if Bacchus be Sesostris and Sefac, this is a new proof that Cadmus flourished in David's time. Add, that soon after the return of Sesostris, Phryxus and Helle fled from their step-mother Ino the daughter of Cadmus, in a ship whose ensign was a *golden Ram*, to Æetes whom Sesostris had left in Colchis. Ino was alive therefore in the 14th of Rehoboam, and consequently her father Cadmus could not be older than David.

<sup>r</sup> The siege of Troy being fixed to the 76th or 78th after Solomon's death, and Minos being the nephew of Cadmus, this is a further argument for placing the arrival of the latter in Greece in the days of David.

lus

lus in the 33d of <sup>†</sup> David; and Abibalus founded the kingdom of Tyre 16 or 18 years before, about the 15th or 16th of David, when Zidon was taken by the Philistines. The Zidonians fled at the same time under the conduct of Cadmus, and other leaders, to seek new seats. Therefore, according to the annals of Tyre and the ancient Phœnician historians, Abibalus, Cadmus and Europa, fled from Zidon, and the two latter came into Greece about the 16th of David's reign <sup>†</sup>.

IV. That *the Phœnicians of Tyre were driven from the Red-Sea by the Edomites, about 87 years after the death of Solomon.* 1. The inhabitants of Zidon, after it was seized by the Philistines and Edomites, (as above mentioned) being still possessed of the trade of the Mediterranean, the Tyrians carried on that of the Red-Sea in conjunction with Solomon and the succeeding Kings of Judah, till after the Trojan war; and hence it is that Homer celebrates Zidon, but says nothing of Tyre: and so also did the Merchants of Aradus, Arpad, or Arvad; for in the Persian gulph were two islands called Tyre and Aradus, which had temples like the Phœni-

<sup>†</sup> In Sir I.'s Chronol. p. 115. there is a very gross error of the press, 23 being printed instead of 33. For the Temple being founded in the 4th of Solomon, and 11th of Hiram, and David having reigned 40 years, Hiram must have succeeded his father in the 33d of David.

<sup>†</sup> The Author makes use of this argument also to confirm his opinion about the time of the Argonautick Expedition, which being about three generations later than the coming of Cadmus and Europa into Greece, could not be much earlier than 43 years after the death of Solomon.

cian

cian 4. At length, in the reign of Jehoram, Edom revolted \* from Judah, whereby the trade of the Tyrians upon the Red-Sea being interrupted, they built ships for commerce upon the Mediterranean, and began to make long voyages there to places not yet frequented by the Zidonians; some to the coasts of Africk beyond the Syrtes, where they built Adrymetum, Carthage, Leptis, Utica, and Capfa; others to the coasts of Spain, and there founded Gades, Carteia and Tamaris; others still further, to the fortunate islands, Britain, and Thule. Now Jehoram reigned 8 years, the two last of which he was sick in his bowels, and so could not then go out to war (as he did 7) against the Edomites. Place their revolt therefore in the middle of the first six years, and it will fall upon the 3<sup>rd</sup> 2 of Pygmalion King of Tyre, and so was about 12 or 15 after the taking of Troy; and then it was that the Tyrians, by reason of this revolt, retired from the Red-Sea, and began long voyages on the Mediterranean; an instance whereof we have in Dido, who on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Pygmalion \* sailed from Tyre to the coast

\* Strab. l. 16.

\* 2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10. and 2 Kings viii. 20, 22.

7 2 Chron. xxi. 9.

\* For from the 1<sup>st</sup> of Hiram (or 33<sup>d</sup> of David) to the 7<sup>th</sup> of Pygmalion, Josephus l. 8. 2. from the Tyrian Archives reckons 137 years 8 months. Add together the 7 years 6 months which David reigned after Hiram came to the crown, the 40 years for Solomon, 17 for Rehoboam, 3 for Abijah, 40 for Asa, 25 for Jehosaphat and the 3 first of Jehoram, the sum is 135, and 6 months, which falls in with the 5<sup>th</sup> of Pygmalion, and the 88<sup>th</sup> after Solomon's death: and Troy was taken about 78 years after it.

\* Joseph. l. 1. cont. Apion.

of

of Africk, and there built Carthage. This gave occasion to the tradition among the Persians and the Phœnicians themselves, that the latter came originally from the Red-Sea<sup>b</sup>, and immediately undertook long voyages on the Mediterranean.

2. Strabo<sup>c</sup> speaking of the first men who left the coasts, ventured out into the deep, and undertook long voyages, names Bacchus, Hercules, Jason, Ulysses and Menelaus; and adds, that the navigation of the Phœnicians was celebrated, who went beyond the pillars of Hercules, and built cities both there and in the middle of the Sea-coast of Africk, *presently after the Trojan war*. These Phœnicians were the Tyrians<sup>d</sup>, who built Carthage in Africk, Carteia in Spain, and Gades in the island of that name without the Straits; and gave the name of Hercules to their leader, and Heraclea to the city Carteia which he built. Hercules was also called Melcartus, *i. e.* King of Carteia. After his death they built a Temple<sup>e</sup> to him in Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of his labours, his hydra, and the horses to whom he threw Diomedes to be devoured. In this Temple was Teucer's golden belt, and Pygmalion's golden olive bearing Smaragdine fruit; which plainly show it was built about their time. The Tyrian Hercules could not be older than the Trojan war, because the Tyrians did not be-

<sup>b</sup> Herod. l. i. & l. 7. Plin. l. 4. c. 20. Edom, Erythra and Phœnicia, all signify a red colour. See Strab. l. i. p. 42.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. l. i. p. 48.

<sup>d</sup> Boch. Can. l. i. c. 34.

<sup>e</sup> Philostr. in vit. Apollon. l. 5. c. 1. apud Phœnium.



gin to navigate the Mediterranean till after that war ; for Homer and Hesiod knew nothing of it, and yet this Tyrian Hercules went to the coasts of Spain, and was buried in Gades <sup>f</sup>.

V. That *the Greeks began soon after the time of Lycurgus to build Triremes, and to send Colonies into Sicily and Italy*, which gave the name of *Græcia magna* to those countries. 1. It has been showed above <sup>g</sup>, that Lycurgus flourished a little more than 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war. Now Thucydides <sup>h</sup> says, that the Corinthians were the first among the Greeks who built Tiremes, and that a Shipcarpenter went from Corinth to Samos, where he built four ships, 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war <sup>i</sup>, and that 260 years before the end of that war <sup>k</sup> there was a sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyræans, which was the oldest in history.

2. Thucydides says also, that the *first* colony which the Greeks sent into Sicily, went from Chalcis in Eubœa, and built Naxus ; that the next year Archias went from Corinth, and built Syracuse ; and that about the same time Lamis went thither with a colony from Megara, and lived first at Trotilum, then at Leontini, and died at Thapsus near Syracuse ; that after his death, this colony was invited by Hyblo to Megara in Sicily, where they lived 245 years, till they were expelled by Gelo. Now Gelo flou-

<sup>f</sup> Arnob. l. 1. & Mela.

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 269, 270.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. 6. sub init. Euseb. Chron.

<sup>i</sup> i. e. in the 19th Olympiad.

<sup>k</sup> i. e. in the 29th Olymp.

rished

rished about 78 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war : Count back the 78 and 245 years, and about 12 more for the reign of Lamis after his coming into Sicily, and this reckoning will place the building of Syracuse 335 years <sup>1</sup> before the end of the Peloponnesian war : and about that time it is placed by Eusebius, and others. But it might probably be 20 or 30 years later ; for the antiquities of those days were always raised more or less by the Greeks <sup>m</sup>.

VI. That *Phidon* was contemporary to *Solon*, and presided in the Olympick games in the 45th Olympiad. 1. The kingdom of Macedon was founded by Caranus and Perdiccas <sup>n</sup>, who fled from Argos in the reign of Phidon the brother of Caranus. Alexander the son of Amyntas K. of Macedon was contemporary to Xerxes K. of Persia, and died An. 4. Olymp. 79. He was succeeded by Perdiccas, and he by his son Archelaus, who was the 9th King of Mace-

<sup>1</sup> i. e. in the 10th Olympiad.

<sup>m</sup> The Author uses this argument to confirm the time to which he had above fixed the siege of Troy. Thucydides in the same place tells us, that the Greeks began to come into Sicily almost 300 years after the Siculi had invaded that island with an army from Italy. Suppose it 280 years after, and the building of Syracuse 310 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War ; then that invasion of Sicily by the Siculi will have been 590 years before the end of that war, i. e. about the 27th of Solomon's reign. Hellanicus (ap. Dionys. l. 1. p. 15.) says it was in the third generation, and Philistus of Syracuse that it was 80 years before the Trojan War, which must consequently have been later than the days of Solomon and Rehoboam, and could not be much earlier than where Sir Isaac has placed it.

<sup>n</sup> Herodot. l. 8. c. 137.

don

don<sup>o</sup>. Now, by reckoning above 40 years a-piece to these Kings, Chronologers have made Phidon and Caranus older than the Olympiads. But if you reckon them at the medium of 18 or 20 years a-piece, the first seven reigns counted back from the death of the said Alexander (An. 4 Olymp. 79.) will place the dominion of Phidon, and the beginning of the kingdom of Macedon about the 46th or 47th Olympiad.

2. It could scarce be earlier ; for Leocides the son of Phidon, and Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, at one and the same time courted Agarista the daughter of Clisthenes King of Sicyon<sup>\*</sup>. Therefore Phidon and Alcmaeon were contemporary. Now the Amphictyons, by the advice of Solon, made Alcmaeon, Clisthenes and Eurolycus their generals in the war against Cithra, which according to the marbles was conquered An. 2. Olymp. 47. Phidon therefore, and his brother Caranus, were contemporary to Solon, Alcmaeon, Clisthenes and Eurolycus, and flourished about the 48th or 49th Olympiad. They were also contemporary in their latter days to Croesus ; for Solon conversed with him, and Alcmaeon entertained and conducted the messengers which he sent to consult the Oracle at Delphi An. 1. Olymp. 56. according to the marbles. But these times taken from the marbles having been collected by reckoning the reigns of Kings equipollent to generations, and three of them to 100 years or more ; and the reigns of Kings being really shorter, one with another, in the proportion of about 4 to 7 ; the Chronology of the

<sup>\*</sup> Thucyd. l. 2. ad-extr.

<sup>\*</sup> Herodot. l. 6. c. 127.

marbles till the conquest of Media by Cyrus, An. 4. Olymp. 60. will come much nearer the truth, if shortned in that proportion. By this reckoning Cirrha was conquered An. 1. Olymp. 53; Alcmaeon entertained the messengers of Cræsus An. 1. Olymp. 58. four years before the conquest of Sardes by Cyrus; and the tyranny of Pisistratus began at Athens An. 3. Olymp. 57. instead of An. 4. Olymp. 54.

3. Iphitus <sup>b</sup> and his successors presided both in the temple of Jupiter Olympius and in the Olympic games, till the 26th Olympiad, the victors being always rewarded with a *Tripes*. But then the Pisæans getting above the Eleans began to preside, rewarded the victors with a crown, and instituted the Carnæa to Apollo. They continued to preside till Phidon interrupted them, which he did in the 49th Olympiad. For in the 48th the <sup>c</sup> Pisæans having confederated with several Greeks fell upon the Eleans, and in the end were beaten. During this war it was very probably that Phidon presided in the Olympic games; for in the 50th Olympiad, to put an end to the contentions of the Kings about presiding, two men were chosen by lot out of the city Elis to preside <sup>d</sup>.

## VII. *The*

<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. 8. p. 355.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. l. 5. c. 9.

<sup>d</sup> This agrees perfectly well with the period of the Return of the Heraclides, as determined above. For Strabo (l. 8. p. 358.) says, that Phidon was the tenth from Temenus, one of the three brothers who led back the Heraclides, and had the kingdom of Argos for his share; not the tenth king, but the tenth from father to son, including Temenus. If 27 years be reckoned to a generation, the 9 intervals will amount to 243, which counted

VII. *The time of Draco's being Archen, of Solon's making his laws and visiting Cræsus.* According to Ptolomy's Canon Cyrus took Babylon nine years before his death, or An. Nabonass. 209. and An. 2. Olymp. 60; he took Sardes An. 1. Olymp. 59. as Scaliger collects from Socrates. Now Cræsus was at that time King of Lydia, and had reigned 14 years, and therefore he began to reign An. 3. Olymp. 55. After Solon had made his laws, he obliged the Athenians by oath to observe these laws, till he returned from his travels. He staid abroad 10 years, and upon his return found Pisistratus began to affect the tyranny, which made him travel once more; and about this time Cræsus invited him to Sardes. Now before Solon went to Sardes, Cræsus had conquered all Asia minor, as far as the river Halys; and therefore he received Solon's visit towards the latter part of his reign: so that we may place it upon the 9th year thereof, An. 3. Olymp. 57; and the Legislature of Solon 12 years earlier, An. 3. Olymp. 54; and that of Draco 10 years earlier still, An. 1. Olymp. 52. After Solon had visited Cræsus, he went into Cilicia and other parts, and died abroad the next year, which was the 2d of the tyranny of Pisistratus, An. 4. Olymp. 57.

counted back from the 48th Olympiad, in which Phidon flourished, will place the Return of the Heraclides about 50 years before the first Olymp. as above. Chronologers have generally reckoned 515 years between that Return and the 48th Olymp. and Phidon the 7th from Temenus, which is at the rate of 85 years to a generation, one with another, and therefore not to be admitted.

“ We have now shewed, says our great Au-  
 “ thor, that the Phœnicians of Zidon, under  
 “ the conduct of Cadmus and other Captains,  
 “ flying from their enemies, came into Greece  
 “ with Letters and other arts, about the 16th  
 “ year of King David’s reign ; that Europa,  
 “ the sister of Cadmus, fled some days before  
 “ him from Zidon, and came to Crete, where  
 “ she became the mother of Minos, about the  
 “ 18th or 20th year of David’s reign ; that Se-  
 “ softris and the great Bacchus, and by conse-  
 “ quence also Osiris, were one and the same  
 “ King of Egypt with Sefac, and came out of  
 “ Egypt in the 5th year of Rehoboam, to in-  
 “ vade the nations, and died 25 years after So-  
 “ lomon ; that the Argonautick Expedition was  
 “ about 43 years after the death of Solomon ;  
 “ that Troy was taken about 76 or 78 years af-  
 “ ter the death of Solomon ; that the Phœni-  
 “ cians of Tyre were driven from the red Sea  
 “ by the Edomites, about 87 years after the  
 “ death of Solomon, and within two or three  
 “ years began to make long voyages upon the  
 “ Mediterranean, sailing to Spain, and be-  
 “ yond, under a Commander, whom for his  
 “ industry, conduct and discoveries, they ho-  
 “ noured with the names of Melcartus and Her-  
 “ cules : that the return of the Heraclides into  
 “ Peloponnesus, was about 158 years after the  
 “ death of Solomon ; that Lycurgus the Legi-  
 “ slator reigned at Sparta, and gave the three  
 “ Discs to the Olympick treasury, An. 1. O-  
 “ lymp. 18. or 273 years after the death of So-  
 “ lomon, the *Quinquertium* being at that time  
 “ added to the Olympick games ; that the  
 “ Greeks began soon after to build *Triremes*,  
 “ and to send colonies into Sicily and Italy,  
 “ which gave the name of *Græcia magna* to  
 “ those

“ those countries ; that the first Messenian war  
 “ ended about 350 years after the death of So-  
 “ lomon †, or An. 1. Olymp. 37 ; that Phidon  
 “ was contemporary to Solon, and presided in  
 “ the Olympick games in the 49th Olympiad,  
 “ or 397 years after the death of Solomon ; that  
 “ Draco was Archon, and made his laws An. 1.  
 “ Olymp. 52 ; and Solon, An. 3. 54 ; and that  
 “ Solon visited Cræsus An. 3. Olymp. 57, or  
 “ 433 years after the death of Solomon ; and  
 “ Sardes was taken by Cyrus 438 years, and Ba-  
 “ bylon by Cyrus 443 years, and Ecbatane by  
 “ Cyrus 445 years after the death of Solomon :  
 “ And these periods being settled, they become  
 “ a foundation for building the Chronology of  
 “ the ancient times upon them ; and nothing  
 “ more remains for settling such a Chronology,  
 “ than to make these periods a little exacter, if  
 “ it can be, and to shew how the antiquities of  
 “ Greece, Egypt, Assyria, Chaldæa and Me-  
 “ dia, may suit therewith.

This our great Author proceeds to execute in the remaining part of the Work. But as the arguments he uses consist of several chains of historical facts which cannot possibly be shortened, I shall only mention the chief corrections he makes in the Chronology of antient Empires, particularly with respect to the times of their Rise and Fall.

The *Egyptians* antiently boasted of a very great and lasting Empire under their Kings Ammon, Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris, Hercules, Memnon, &c. reaching Eastward to the Indies, and Westward to the Atlantic Ocean ; and out of vanity made this monarchy some thousands of

X 2

years

† See p. 266. and note i. The Return of the Heracles was 158 years after the death of Solomon, and the end of the first Messenian war 190 years later than that Return : which two sums make about 350.

years older than the world. But Sir Isaac shows that Ammon the eldest of those Princes was contemporary to David, and married his daughter to Solomon, about the year before Christ 1019; and that his son Sesostris, called also Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, and Sefac, was about the same Age with Rehoboam, and spoiled the temple in his reign about 974 years before Christ. For

1. Besides what has been said of Sesostris above, who certainly lived in the age of the Gods of Egypt, being deified by several names, Neptune and his son Atlas made war upon the Gods, who were the founders of the Empire of Egypt; and Ulysses found Calypso the daughter of Atlas in the island Ogygia, perhaps Gadir, presently after the Trojan war, which therefore was but two generations later than the wars of the Gods, and the rise of the Empire of Egypt.
2. This same Neptune, with Apollo or Orus, fortified Troy with a wall in the reign of Laomedon the father of Priam, and left many natural children in Greece, some of whom were Argonauts, and others contemporary to them. So that he and the Gods of Egypt flourished only one generation before the Argonautick Expedition.
3. All historians <sup>a</sup> agree that Menes reigned in Egypt next after the Gods, turned the river into a new channel, made a bridge over it, and over-against the place where Grand-Cairo now stands, built Memphis, and the body of a magnificent temple of Vulcan. Now all these circumstances agree also to Memnon or Amenophis, from whom Memphis had its Egyptian names Moph, Noph, Menof or Menuf, as it is still called by the Arabian historians. The

<sup>a</sup> Herod. l. 2.



Greeks, before the days of Hesiod, feigned that Memnon or Amenophis was the son of Tithonus the elder brother of Priam, who being a beautiful youth, was carried into Ethiopia among other captives by Sesostris. Memnon or Amenophis was therefore, according to those antient Greeks, one generation younger than Tithonus and his brother Priam, and was born after the return of Sesostris into Egypt; suppose 16 or 20 years after the death of Solomon. He is said to have lived very long, and so might dye about 95 years after Solomon, as we reckoned above. Sir Isaac thinks him to have been the son of Zerah the Ethiopian whom he succeeded. His successors Rameses, Moeris, Asychis, and Psammiticus built the Western, Northern, Eastern, and Southern Porticos of the temple of Vulcan, which Menes or Amenophis founded; Psammiticus, who built the last, lived 300 years after the defeat of Zerah by Afa, and it is not likely that this temple could be more than 300 years in building. From these things it follows, that the reign of the Gods of Egypt, whom Amenophis immediately succeeded in the days of Afa, could not be more antient than Sir Isaac has made it.

4. Add, that Solon having travelled into Egypt, and conversed with the priests of Sais about their antiquities, wrote a Poem of what he had learnt; and from thence Plato <sup>b</sup> tells us, that the wars of the great Gods of Egypt were in the days of Cecrops and Erechtheus, and a little before Theseus, or about one generation before the Argonautick Expedition.

Osiris or Sesostris being slain in the 5th of Afa by his brother Japetus, whom the Egyptians called Typhon, Python, and Neptune, the

<sup>b</sup> In Timæo, & Critia.

Libyans under Japetus, and his son Atlas, invaded Egypt, and raised that famous war between the gods and the giants, from whence the Nile had the name of Eridanus. But Orus the son of Osiris having prevailed by the assistance of the Ethiopians, reigned till the 15th of Afa; and then Zerah having invaded Egypt with an army of Ethiopians, drowned Orus, the Phaeton of the Poets, in Eridanus. Zerah was that same year routed by Afa, so that he could not recover himself, and was succeeded by Amenophis, a youth of the royal family of the Ethiopians, and probably his son. But the people of the lower Egypt revolting from him set up Osarsiphus for their king, and calling in a great body of Phœnicians to support him obliged Amenophis, with the remains of his father's army, to retire from the lower Egypt to Memphis, which he built and fortified against Osarsiphus. After this he retired into Ethiopia, where he staid 13 years; and then coming back with a great army subdued the lower Egypt, expelling the people who had lately been called in from Phœnicia. And this Sir Isaac takes to be the second expulsion of the shepherds, the first having been, he thinks, in the days of Samuel and Eli, and in the reigns of Misphragmuthosis and Amosis. In the midst of these distractions the Princes of Greece thinking this a good opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of Egypt which Sesostris had laid upon them, contrived the Argonautic Expedition, and sent a solemn embassy to the nations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas for that purpose, about 43 years after the death of Solomon; and by these things the mighty Empire of Egypt was broke to pieces.

About

Art. 22. *the Republick of Letters.* 307

About the year before Christ 788, the Assyrians and Ethiopians revolted from Asychis, and Egypt itself was again divided into several small kingdoms. Sabacon the Ethiopian taking advantage of this division invaded and conquered Egypt about 751 years before Christ, and three or four before the Æra of Nabonassar; the Egyptians who fled from him to Babylon having carried the form of their year thither. About 80 years after this, and 671 before Christ, Aserhadon king of Assyria subdued Egypt, and committed the government of it to twelve Princes, who after his death revolted from the Assyrians, and reigned there together for 15 years; and then Psammiticus, one of them, conquered all the rest. At last, in the year of Nabonassar 178, before Christ 569, Nebuchadnezzar invaded and subdued Egypt, which continued subject to Babylon for 40 years, till the death of Cyrus; and then recovering its liberty, it was again conquered by Cambyfes, An. Nabonass. 223, or 224, before Christ 526, and has ever since continued in Servitude, as was predicted by the Prophets.

The Empire of the *Assyrians* is made as old as Noah's flood within 60 or 70 years by Ctesias, and the antient Greek and Latin Writers who copied from him, and is supposed to have been founded by Nimrod. Sir Isaac allows that Nimrod founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Assyria; and adds, that it was but of small extent, if compared with the Empires which rose up afterwards, being confined to the fertile plains of Chaldæa, Chalonitis, and Assyria, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates: and that if it had been greater, it could not continue long so, it being the custom in those early ages for every father to divide his territories a-

mong his sons. Thus, says he, Noah was king of all the world, Cham of all Afric, and Japhet of all Europe and Asia minor, but left no standing kingdoms. For, 1. The four kings who in the days of Abraham invaded the southern coast of Canaan, came from the countries where Nimrod had reigned, and perhaps were some of his posterity who had shared his conquests. After the days of Nimrod we hear no more of an Assyrian Empire till the days of Pul, 790 years before Christ. Homer is entirely silent about it, though he celebrates the kings of Egypt and of Persia. Nay, 2. It appears from scripture<sup>c</sup> and history, that all the countries over which the Empire of Assyria could be supposed to extend, were subject to other Lords than the Assyrians at the very time this Empire is supposed to flourish, and continued so till the days of Pul and his successors. Sefac and Memnon were great conquerors, and reigned over Chaldaea, Assyria, and Persia; and yet in their histories there is not a word of any opposition made to them by an Assyrian Empire then standing: but on the contrary, Susiana, Media, Persia, Bactria, Armenia, Cappadocia, &c. were conquered by them, and continued in subjection to the kings of Egypt till after the long reign of Rameses the son of Memnon; which things are utterly inconsistent with the being of an Assyrian Empire before and at that time. 3. The golden cup of Semiramis was preserved till the conquest of Croesus by Darius the Mede 549 years before Christ, which makes it very improbable she should have lived

<sup>c</sup> Judg. iii. 8. 2 Sam. viii. and x. Am. i. 3. 2 Kings xvii. 31. and xix. 12, Gen. xii. and x. 10. Isa. x. 9.

so many ages before that time, as Chronologers have generally reckoned she did <sup>d</sup>. 5. Niniveh the capital of the Assyrian Empire, though it was a large city in the days of Jonah, (who prophesied in the latter end of the reign of Jehoahaz, and the beginning of the reign of Joash kings of Israel, then afflicted by the kings of Syria, about 60 years before the reign of Pul,) was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained only 120 thousand persons; and was not yet grown so great and potent, as not to be terrified at the preaching of the Prophet, nor above the fear of being invaded and ruined by it's neighbours within 40 days. It had indeed got free from the dominion of Egypt some time before, and had a Monarch of its own, but he was not yet called the king of Assyria, but the king of Nineveh only <sup>†</sup>; and his Proclamation for a Fast was not published in several nations, nor in all Assyria, but only in that city, and perhaps the villages and suburbs thereof. But soon after, *viz.* in the reign of Pul, its Kings began to be called Kings of Assyria. 6. Amos prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam the son of Joash, about ten or twenty years before the reign of Pul; and he speaking <sup>e</sup> of the judgments which God threatened to bring upon Israel by the Assyrians, does not name them, but calls them *a nation to be raised up*. Whereas in the books of the other prophets,

<sup>d</sup> Sir Isaac makes Semiramis the Queen of Nabonassar Pul's younger son, who, he says, finished the city of Babylon which his father Pul had founded, and called one of the gates of it by the name of his queen Semiramis.

<sup>†</sup> Jon. iii. 6, 7.

<sup>e</sup> Amos vi. 13, 14.

which

which were written after the monarchy grew up, it is openly named upon all occasions ; but in this of Amos not once, though the captivity of Israel and Syria by the Assyrians be the subject of the prophecy, and that of Israel often threatened : he only says in general, that Syria should go into captivity beyond Kir, and Israel be carried away beyond Damascus, by *a nation to be raised up*, whom they yet feared not. 7. The same prophet <sup>f</sup> threatening Israel with what had lately befallen other nations, mentions no place then conquered by the Assyrians, except one, Calneh <sup>g</sup>, or Chalonitis, which stood upon the Tigris between Babylon and Nineveh. The other places, Gath and Hamath, with the fate of which he threatens his countrymen, had been conquered just before, the one by Uzziah <sup>h</sup> K. of Judah, and the other by Jeroboam <sup>i</sup> King of Israel : and this argues that the King of Nineveh was but just beginning that vast career of victories which we read of soon after, in the message which Sennacherib (when warring in Syria about seven years after the captivity of the ten tribes, and in the 16th Olympiad) sent to the K. of Judah <sup>k</sup>, and also in Isaiah <sup>l</sup> ; where the destruction brought upon *all the Countries* round about Assyria, is recited as fresh in the memory of the Israelites. 8. All these Nations <sup>m</sup> had till now their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender

<sup>f</sup> Amos vi. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Calneh or Calno was founded by Nimrod, and stood where Bagdad now stands.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

<sup>i</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 25.

<sup>k</sup> 2 Kings xix. 11.

<sup>l</sup> Isa. x. 8.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30, 31. and xviii. 33, 34, 35.  
2 Chron. xxxii. 13, 15.

there-

thereof against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly against those of Assyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially seeing the K. of Assyria does not boast of their being conquered oftener than once. 9. Immediately after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, they are represented as having been afflicted *since the time of the kings of Assyria unto that day*; that is, from the rise of the Assyrian Empire; and Palestine was not molested by the Assyrians till the days of Pul, who with his Successors afflicted Israel, and conquered the nations round about them: Israel continued in its greatness till Pul's time; for after Jeroboam had conquered Damascus and Hamath, his Successor Menahem destroyed Tiphshah with its territories upon Euphrates, because they opened not to him; but Pul being now grown formidable by some victories, obliged Menahem to buy his peace. From all these circumstances, Pul may be justly reckoned the first Conqueror and Founder of this Empire; for *God stirred up the spirit of Pul, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser King of Assyria*<sup>n</sup>.

When Pul died, he was succeeded at Nineveh by his eldest son Tiglath-Pileser, at the same time that he left Babylon with the Province of Chaldæa to his younger son Nabonassar; but in the 68th year of Nabonassar, it was again united to the Assyrian Empire by Afferhadon, the son of Sennacherib. This Sennacherib invaded Phœnicia in the 14th of Hezekiah, and attempted Egypt; but Sethon, or Sevechus K. of Egypt, and Tirhakah King of Ethiopia coming

<sup>n</sup> 1 Chron. v. 20.

against him, he lost in one night 185 thousand men <sup>o</sup>. Upon this defeat, he returned in haste to Nineveh, where he was soon after slain by two of his sons. The Medes, encouraged by the great slaughter of his army, (which had exceedingly weakened him) took that opportunity <sup>p</sup> to revolt from the Assyrians. In the year of Nabonassar 123, Nabopolassar <sup>q</sup> General of Chyniladon's forces in Chaldæa revolted from him, and became King of Babylon. At length Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, married Amyite, the sister of Cyaxeres, and daughter of Astyages K. of Media. These two families being thus united, conspired against the Assyrians; and Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres led the armies of Chaldæa and Media against Nineveh, slew Sarac the son of Chyniladon, destroyed the city, and shared the kingdom of the Assyrians, in the year of Nabonassar 140. This victory, which the Jews refer to the Chaldæans, the Greeks to the Medes, Tobit, Polyhistor, Josephus and Ctesias to both, gave a beginning to the great successes of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres, and laid the foundation of the two contemporary Empires of the *Babylono-*

<sup>o</sup> As some say by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind which blows sometimes in the deserts of Africk; or rather he was surprised in the night by the two Kings: for, in memory of this action, the Egyptians erected a statue to Sethon, with a *Mouſe* in his hand, which was their symbol of *Destruction*. Some not understanding this, pretended that a great multitude of Mice gnawed all the bow-strings of the Assyrians in one night, so that they became an easy prey to their enemies.

<sup>p</sup> Tobit i. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Alex. Polyhist. apud Euseb. in Chron. p. 46. & ap. Syncell. p. 210.

nians



*nians* and *Modes*, into which that of the *Assyrians* was divided. That the fall of the Assyrian empire is to be fixed to the year of Nabonassar 140, or the 2d of Jehoiakim, appears from hence : In the reign of Josiah, when Zephaniah prophesied, Nineveh and the kingdom of Assyria were standing, and their fall then predicted by that prophet<sup>r</sup>; and in the end of his reign, Pharaoh Nechoh K. of Egypt, the Successor of Psammitichus, went up against the King of Assyria to the river Euphrates, to fight against Carchemish, or Circutium, and in his way thither slew Josiah<sup>s</sup>; and therefore the last K. of Assyria was not then slain. But in the 3d and 4th years of Jehoiakim, the Successor of Josiah, the two Conquerors having taken Nineveh, and finished the war in Assyria, led their forces against the K. of Egypt, as an invader of their right of conquest, and having beat him at Carchemish, took † from him whatever he had newly taken from the Assyrians. So that the taking of Nineveh, and the killing of Sarac happening after the death of Josiah, and before the third of Jehoiakim, the fall of the Assyrian empire, and the rise of those of Babylon and Media, may justly be placed on the 2d of Jehoiakim, or the 140th of Nabonassar, bef. Ch. 608.

But in order to determine the years of Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the *Babylonian* empire, and of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah more exactly, and thereby to connect the Chronology of the Jews in the Old Testament with that of later times, our Author observes from Ptolomy's Canon, that Nabopolassar died in the

<sup>r</sup> Zeph. i. 1. & ii. 13.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

† 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jer. xlv. 2. Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 35.  
year

year of Nabonassar 144, and Nebuchadnezzar his son in the 187th of the same *Æra*. Now the year of his death was the 37th of Jeconia's captivity <sup>t</sup>, which *therefore began in the 150th of Nabonassar*. It began in the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar's reign <sup>u</sup>, *who therefore was made king by his father in the year of Nabonassar 142*, two years before he died. It also begun in the 11th of Jehoiakim's reign <sup>x</sup>; for the first of Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth of Jehoiakim <sup>y</sup>: therefore *Jehoiakim succeeded his father Josiah in the year of Nabonassar 139*. Jeconia his son reigned three months, ending with this captivity, and the 10th year of his captivity was the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar's reign <sup>z</sup>; and the 11th of his brother and successor Zedekiah, in which Jerusalem was taken, was the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Therefore *Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple burnt, in the year of Nabonassar 160*, about twenty years after the Destruction of Nineveh. To this add, that the reign of Darius Hystaspis over Persia, by the Canon and the consent of all Chronologers, and by several eclipses of the moon, began in spring in the year of Nabonassar 227: and that in the 4th year of his reign, in the 4th day of the 9th Moneth Chisleu, the Jews are represented <sup>a</sup> as having fasted and mourned in the 5th month for the burning of the temple, and in the 7th for the death of Gedaliah during 70 years; which being counted backwards from that time, will place the burning of the temple and death of Gedaliah in the year of Nabonassar 160, as above.

<sup>t</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 27.

<sup>u</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 12.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 36. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Jer. xxv. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Jer. xxxii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Zech. vii.

But

But in comparing Ptolomy's Canon with the Jewish Chronicles it must be observed, that as the Chaldæan Astronomers always counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Nabonassar, beginning them at the last Thoth<sup>b</sup> of their predecessor's reign; so the Jews, as their Authors say, counted the reigns of theirs by the years of Moses<sup>c</sup>, beginning every year in the same manner with the month Nisan. So that if any king began his reign but a few days before the Thoth, or the beginning of Nisan, it was reckoned to him for a whole year, and the first Thoth or Nisan in his reign was the beginning of his second year. Thus the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish reckoning, began with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonassar 142; and his ninth year, and the first of Jeconiah's captivity, and Zedekiah's reign, began with the month Nisan, in the year of

<sup>b</sup> The Chaldæan and Egyptian year consisted of 365 days, which wants 5 hours 49 minutes of the Equinoctial year, and their Thoth or first day of it for that reason was continually moving backwards about one day in 4 years. This year begun first in Egypt on the Vernal Equinox 96 years after the death of Solomon; and about 137 years after that, it begun first in Babylon on the 26th of February, O. S. and was called the *Æra* of Nabonassar. The Jewish year was Lunisolar, and the first day of it upon that account very uncertain. All their months begun with the new moon, and their first month Abib or Nisan contained part of our March, and part of April. It had its name from the earing of corn in that month, and the Passover was kept upon the 14th day of it, the moon being then full. But if the corn was not then ripe enough for offering the first fruits, the festival was put off by adding an intercalary month to the end of the year; and the harvest was got in before the Pentecost, and the other fruits gathered before the feast of the 7th month.

<sup>c</sup> Of this we have an instance in 1 Kings vi. 1.

Nabo-

Nabonassar 150 ; and his 18th year, and the 10th of Zedekiah began with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonassar 159. Now in the 9th of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa, and in the 10th month of that year he besieged Jerusalem <sup>d</sup> ; and from hence to the 10th month in the second of Darius are exactly 70 years : and so much Zechariah makes it <sup>e</sup>. These things being thus fixed, the Chronology of the Old Testament may be connected with later times. For from the death of Solomon to the 9th of Zedekiah, in which Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa, and laid siege to Jerusalem, were 390 years, as appears from Ezekiel iv. and by summing up the years of the kings of Judah ; and from the 9th of Zedekiah inclusively to the vulgar Æra of Christ there were 590 years : and these two numbers with half the reign of Solomon make just a thousand years.

As the Chaldeans and Medes together destroyed the Assyrian Empire, and upon its ruins founded those of Babylon and Media ; so the Empire of Babylon was not long after destroyed by the Medes in the 210th year of Nabonassar, that famous city being then taken by Cyrus, the general and brother-in-law of Darius the Mede, the son and successor of Cyaxares, who in conjunction with Nebuchadnezzar took and destroyed Niniveh, and with it the Assyrian Empire, as has been said. Herodotus and others make Cyrus the immediate successor of his grandfather Astyages, before whom they place Cyaxares ; but according to Sir Isaac, Astyages, Cyaxares and Darius reigned successively over the Medes

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxiv. 1. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Zech. i. 7, 12.

before Cyrus ; and he supports his opinion by several arguments. 1. *Æschylus* <sup>s</sup> who flourished in the days of Darius Hytaspis and Xerxes, and died in the 76th Olympiad, attributes the founding of the Medo-Persian Empire to the two immediate predecessors of Cyrus, the first of which he says was a Mede, and the second his son. Now Daniel tells us that the second was Darius the Mede, the immediate predecessor of Cyrus ; and therefore the first was the father of Darius, and Daniel calls him Achsuerus, or Ahafuerus, of the seed of the Medes, or seed royal. Achsuerus is the same name with Assuerus, Oxyares, Axeres, Cy-axeres, *i. e.* Prince Axeres, for that is the import of the word Cy. This is that Assuerus who together with Nebuchadnezzar took and destroyed Nineveh, according to Tobit ; which action is by the Greeks attributed to Cyaxeres. This Cyaxeres was the greatest warrior of all the kings of the Medes <sup>h</sup> : he was much more valiant than his ancestors, and the first who divided the kingdom into provinces, and reduced the irregular forces of the Medes into discipline and order : and therefore by the testimony of Herodotus, he was the same king of the Medes whom *Æschylus* makes the founder of the empire, and *the first that led the army* ; and his son, who he says *finished the work* of establishing the Medo-Persian empire over all Asia, could not be Astyages, who did nothing glorious, but Darius the conqueror of Lydia and Babylon. 2. Cyrus lived 70 years according to Cicero, and reigned 9 years over Babylon, according to Ptolomy's canon ; he was

<sup>s</sup> Persæ, v. 767.

<sup>h</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 103.

therefore 61 years old at the taking of Babylon, at which time Daniel tells us Darius the Mede was 62 years old. Now Cyrus and Darius being nearly of the same age, and the former being the grandson of Astyages by his daughter Mandane, whom he married to Cambyles a prince of Persia †, Darius must have been two generations younger than Astyages. Cyaxeres \* was the son of Astyages, and gave his daughter to Cyrus, who was her cousin-german, and much about the same age with her. So that it seems plain that Astyages, Cyaxeres and Darius reigned successively over the Medes; and Cyrus being the brother-in-law of Darius the king was made his general, and succeeded him in the kingdom. Add, 3. That the true name of the predecessor of Cyrus is preserved in the *Darics*, which after his victory over Croesus by the conduct of his general Cyrus, about 14 or 15 years before the taking of Babylon, he coined out of the gold and silver of the conquered Lydians. For they were coined <sup>h</sup> not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius, Darius the first, by the first king of the Medes and Persi-

† Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. Herod. l. 1. c. 107, 108.

\* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. & l. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Suid. in Δαρεικός & Δαρεικός. Harpocr. in Δαρεικός. Scholiast. in Aristoph. Ἑλληνοσταγέρων, v. 598. The *Stateres Darici*, as they were called, were of the same value and weight with the *Attic Stater*, or piece of gold money weighing two drachms. Some of them are still in being both in gold and silver; they were stamped on one side with the effigies of an archer, with a spiked crown on his head, a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right, and clothed with a long robe. Croesus coined gold monies in plenty, called *Craesi*, which after the overthrow of his kingdom Darius re-coined with his own effigies, but did not alter the current weight and value.

ans who coined gold money. Darius seems to have learnt the use of money, and the art of coining it from the Lydians, and to have re-coined their gold; for before the conquest of that country the medes and Persians had no money <sup>i</sup>, but the Lydians and Phrygians were rich even to a proverb <sup>k</sup>.

The *Persians* having been conquered by the Medes about the middle of Zedekiah's reign, or 155th year of Nabonassar, continued in subjection to them till the end of Darius the Mede. Cyrus, who was of the royal family of Persia, might be *Satrapa*, or Lord-Lieutenant of it, and command a body of their forces under Darius, but was not yet an absolute and independent king. After the taking of Babylon, when he had a victorious army at his devotion, and Darius was returned into Media, he revolted from him in conjunction with the Persians under his command, who were incited to it by Harpagus a Mede <sup>l</sup>, who had assisted Cyrus in conquering Croesus and Asia minor, and had been injured by Darius. This Harpagus being sent by his master with an army against Cyrus, in the midst of a battel revolted to him with part of his army. Darius raised fresh forces, and the next year fought Cyrus at Pasargadæ <sup>m</sup> in Persia, where he was defeated and taken prisoner. By this victory the monarchy was translated to the *Persians*, in the year of Nabonassar 212, about two years after the taking of Babylon, and 72 after the destruction of Nine-

<sup>i</sup> Herod. l. 1. c. 71. Isaiah xiii 17.

<sup>k</sup> Plin. l. 33. c. 3. has recorded the prodigious quantities of gold and silver which Cyrus found in Lydia. What the conqueror did with it appears in the Darics.

<sup>l</sup> Suid. in *Ἀείσαρχ*. Herod. l. 1. c. 123. and 127.

<sup>m</sup> Strab. l. 15. p. 730.

veh. And this Monarchy was also destroyed, and the Empire translated to the *Greeks* by Alexander the Great, who in the year of Nabonassar 417, on the 2d of October, entirely defeated the army of Darius Codomannus in the famed battel of Arbela.

Thus, according to our Author, the *Empire of Egypt* was first founded by Ammon and his son Sefac; of whom the former began his reign in the year before Christ 1034, and the latter in 1002. It was broke into pieces about the year before Christ 940 by the civil wars in the reign of Amenophis, and the revolt of the nations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas occasioned thereby, and promoted by the Princes of Greece, who undertook the Argonautic Expedition for that purpose: and at last, after several vicissitudes, Egypt was wholly reduced into servitude by Cambyfes about the year before Christ 525, and has continued so ever since.

The *Empire of Assyria* was first founded at Nineveh by Pul in the year before Christ 790, and destroyed by Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar about the year before Christ 609, after it had stood 180 years.

The *Babylonian and Median Empires* were contemporary. They were both founded upon the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy in the year before Christ 609. That of *Babylon* stood 70 years, and ended in the year before Christ 538, when the city was taken by the Medes under the conduct of Cyrus; who thereupon revolted from Darius the Mede, overcame him about 2 years after, and translated the *Empire* from the *Medes* to the *Persians* in the year before Christ 536: and from them after about 204 years it was translated to the *Greeks* by  
Alexan-



Alexander the Great in the year before Christ 332.

Towards the end of this work Sir Isaac endeavours to connect the History and Chronology of the Jews, as recorded by Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, with that of the Babylonian and Medo-Persian Empires. But I shall not enter into the particulars, farther than to observe, that he labours to prove that the Darius mentioned Ezra v. 2. was not Darius Nothus, but Darius Hystaspis; and that the Artaxerxes from whom Nehemiah received his commission, was not Mnemon, but Longimanus. The Reader will find this subject largely handled in the learned Dr. Prideaux's *Connection*, and will be pleased to observe a much nearer agreement between these two great men, with regard to the most important events, than is commonly to be met with in works of this nature.

We have now gone through the most essential corrections made by our great Author in the Chronology of antient kingdoms. His account of *the first peopling of the earth, the building of houses and towns, the invention of agriculture, and other arts and sciences, and the origin of idolatry and the beathen gods*, which depends upon these corrections, as it is no less useful and more entertaining, will come in very properly here to relieve the mind after the attention required to understand the preceding part of this abstract.

After the flood, all mankind lived together in Chaldæa under the government of Noah and his sons, until the days of Peleg: and so long they continued of one language, one society, and one religion. But then being perhaps disturbed

by the ambition and rebellion of Nimrod, and forced to leave off building the tower of Babel, they spread themselves into different countries. Those first inhabited were so thinly peopled even in the days of Abraham, that four Kings <sup>a</sup> from the coasts of Shinar, and Elam, invaded and spoiled the Rephaims, and the inhabitants of the large countries of Moab, Ammon and Edom, and of the kingdoms of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim; and yet were pursued and overthrown by 318 men only, the whole force that Abraham and the Princes with him were able to raise. Egypt was so thinly peopled before the birth of Moses, that Pharaoh <sup>b</sup> being afraid lest the children of Israel should grow more numerous and mightier than the Egyptians, caused all their male-children to be drowned. The fields of Phœnicia were not fully appropriated for want of inhabitants in the days of the Patriarchs, who wandered then in tents, and fed their flocks where they pleased: and towns began to be built there not long before Joshua; for in his time every city of Canaan had its own king; and Adonibezek, one of them, had conquered 72 Kings a little before <sup>c</sup>. Uranus <sup>d</sup>, or Ammon, the father of Sefac, was the first common King of Lybia: he reigned in Solomon's time, and caused the people, who till then wandered up and down, to live in towns. About 72 years after the death of Solomon, Benhadad K. of Syria <sup>e</sup> had no less than 32 Kings in his army against Ahab. All

<sup>a</sup> Genes. xiv. Deut. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. i.

<sup>c</sup> Judg. i.

<sup>d</sup> Diod. l. 3. p. 132.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Kings xx. 16.

Media was peopled by *Niuses* <sup>†</sup>, towns without walls, till they revolted from the Assyrians, 267 years after the death of Solomon. If we come into Europe, it appears to have been thinly peopled at first from the northern coast of the Euxine sea by wandering Scythians, descended from Japhet, who lived such a wild rambling sort of life as the Tartars still do in the northern parts of Asia: they had no houses, but sheltered themselves from the weather and wild beasts in thickets and caves of the earth <sup>‡</sup>. But in the days of Eli, about 1125 before Christ, Misphragmuthosis, K. of the upper Egypt, having expelled the shepherds, many of them fled under Lelex, Inachus, Pelasgus, Cecrops <sup>h</sup>, and other Captains into Greece, and not only increased the number of its inhabitants, but also introduced the building of houses, if we may give that name to huts of mud or clay; for such their first houses were, till the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius found out the art of hardening the

<sup>†</sup> Herodot. l. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Such as the caves of mount Ida in Crete, in which Minos was educated; the cave of Cacus, and the famed Catacombs near Rome and Naples, afterwards used as burying places, but erroneously thought by some to have been originally designed for that purpose; the Syringes and many other caves in the sides of the mountains of Egypt; the caves of the Troglodites between Egypt and the Red-Sea; those of the Phaurusii in Africk, mentioned by Strabo, l. 17.; the thickets, caves, rocks, high-places and pits, in which the Israelites hid themselves from the Philistims in the days of Saul; and the caves of the Gauls mentioned by Caesar, and many of the same nature still to be seen in Scotland and Ireland.

<sup>h</sup> Lelex settled in Laconia, Inachus in Argos, Pelasgus in Arcadia, and Cecrops in Attica.

clay into bricks. The Arcadians <sup>i</sup> accounted Pelasgus (one of those Egyptian strangers) the first Man, and their first King, and said that he taught the ignorant people to build houses, for defending them from heat and cold, and rain ; to make them garments of skins ; and instead of herbs and roots, which were sometimes noxious, to eat the acorns of the beech-tree. His son Lycaon built Lycosura, the oldest city in all Greece, and in the days of Lelex, the Spartans lived in villages apart. The Greeks therefore did not begin to build houses and villages till about two or three generations before Deucalion's flood <sup>k</sup>, and the coming of Cadmus <sup>l</sup>.

Before the arrival of Cadmus, the Greeks had a Council of Elders in each town for the government thereof, and a place where these Elders and the people met and worshipped their god with sacrifices. These towns they called *ἄμωι*, Peoples, Communities, or Corporation-towns. Where several of them, for their common safety, united by consent under one Council, they erected in one of the *ἄμωι* a *Prytaneum*, *πρυτανεῖον*, or Court with a place of worship, and a perpetual fire <sup>m</sup> upon an altar for sacrificing ;

<sup>i</sup> Paus. l. 8. c. 1, 2.

<sup>k</sup> This Deucalion was K. of Thessaly, which in his days was overflowed, so as to oblige him to fly with his family and subjects into Attica : and this happened in the reign of Cranaus, the Successor of Cecrops, one of the Egyptian Leaders and Kings of Attica.

<sup>l</sup> Hellen, the son of Deucalion, succeeded his father in Thessaly immediately after the flood ; and Cadmus was contemporary to Æolus, the son of Hellen : for Ino the daughter of Cadmus married Athamas, the son of Æolus.

<sup>m</sup> From *Ἑστία*, Fire, came the name *Vesta*, which the people at length turned into a goddess, and so became fire-worshippers, like the Persians,

and

and there the common council and the people assembled to consult, worship, feast, buy and sell. This *δήμος* they walled about for its safety, and called *πῶς πόλιν*, *the City*. Such was the original of villages, market-towns, cities, common councils, vestal temples, feasts and fairs in Europe. When these councils made war, they chose a Commander to lead their armies, and he became their *King* †. This was the state of Attica in particular, till the days of Theseus<sup>n</sup>: In it were 170 *δήμοι*, which Cecrops, in the days of Samuel, first reduced into 12 cities, and these again Theseus contracted into one; taking away the Courts and Magistrates of the other cities, and making them all meet in one Council, or *Prytaneum*, at Athens. The original of the kingdom of Argos was much in the same manner. Phoroneus the son of Inachus<sup>o</sup>, in the days of Samuel, first gathered the Argives into one community, who till then lived scattered and apart. And 'tis remarkable<sup>p</sup> that Homer calls all the places which he reckons up in the Peloponnesus, except a few, not *Cities*, but *Regions*; because each of them consisted of a convention of many *δήμοι*, *free-towns*, which were afterwards united into noble cities.

When Oenotrus<sup>q</sup> the son of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, carried a colony into Italy, finding it for the most part uninhabited, and where it was, peopled but thinly, he seized a part of it,

† The most celebrated of these was the *Amphiſtyonic Council*. It was erected by Amphiſtyon the son of Deucalion at Thermopylæ where he reigned, and contained twelve nations of the Greeks without Attica. Soon after this Acrisius erected the like council at Delphi, about the beginning of Solomon's reign.

<sup>n</sup> Strab. l. 9. Thucyd. l. 2. Plut. in Theseo.

<sup>o</sup> Paus. l. 2. c. 13.

<sup>p</sup> See Strab. l. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Dionys. l. 1.

and

and built a great many little towns in the mountains, which were the first in that country. None of them however were encompassed with walls, till this colony being engaged in a war with the Siculi, whom they at length expelled about the middle of Solomon's reign, were obliged to do it for their own safety. These towns had their Councils, or *Prytanea*, after the manner of the Greeks: for the new kingdom of Rome, as Romulus left it<sup>r</sup>, consisted of thirty *Courts* (*Curiae*) or *Councils*, in 30 towns, each with the sacred fire kept in the *Prytaneum*; but Numa leaving the several fires in their own courts, instituted one common to them all at Rome, which by this means he first made a compleat city.

As for the Islands of the Mediterranean, Sir Isaac shows they were all peopled in or after the days of Solomon, when the Phœnicians had so far improved navigation as to leave the shore, and sail through that sea by the help of the stars; and he thinks it is not likely that Great Britain and Ireland could be peopled sooner, before navigation was propagated beyond the Straits. It is remarkable of the island Rhodes, that it was at first called Ophiusa, because it was full of serpents till Phorbas, a Prince of Argos, went thither, and made it habitable by destroying them about the end of Solomon's reign; in memory whereof he is delineated in the constellation *Ophiuchus*. The island Cyprus<sup>a</sup> was at first so overgrown with wood that it could not be tilled. They cut it down for the melting of gold and silver; and afterwards when they began to sail safely on the Mediterranean,

<sup>r</sup> Dionys. l. 2.<sup>a</sup> Strab. l. 14.

that

that is, soon after the Trojan war, they built ships and even navies of it; and when they could not thus destroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down as much as he pleased, and to possess all the ground he could clear. The Continent of Europe also abounded very much with woods, one of which called the *Hercinian Forest* covered a great part of Germany, being full 9 days journey broad, and above 40 long in Julius Cæsar's time. And yet the Europeans had been cutting down the woods to make room for mankind ever since the invention of iron tools by the Phœnicians in the days of Cadmus, and his nephew Minos.

These footsteps there are of the peopling of the earth, and of the origin of *Architecture* in the building of houses and towns; which as it is one of the most convenient, if not necessary arts of life, we may reasonably suppose was one of the first inventions of men; and its being found out so late, and introduced into Europe no earlier than the days of Eli and Samuel, seems to be a good proof that mankind could not be much older than is represented in scripture, and that the history of Greece could not well be more antient than Sir Isaac has made it.

Most arts seem to have owed their original to the merchants of the Red Sea; carpenters, and navigation, and astronomy were their invention for carrying on their trade, keeping their accounts, building ships, and guiding them in the night by the stars. The Midians and Ishmaelites who inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea were merchants from the days of Jacob the Patriarch<sup>b</sup>, and by their merchandise the Midianites abound-

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36.

ed with gold in the days of Moses <sup>c</sup>, and in the days of the Judges of Israel <sup>d</sup>, *because they were Ishmaelites*. They carried their merchandise on camels through Petra to Rhinocolura, and from thence to Egypt. Some <sup>e</sup> say that king Erythra, *i. e.* Esau, invented the vessels, *rates*, in which the Edomites navigated the Red Sea, and that he was buried in an island thereof near the Persian Gulph. There were boats upon rivers before, such as those which carried the Patriarchs over Euphrates and Jordan, and the first nations over many other rivers for peopling the earth, seeking new seats, and invading one another's territories; and after the example of these, Ishmael and Midian the sons of Abraham, and Esau his grandson, being merchants, might probably build larger vessels to go to the islands upon the Red Sea, and by degrees learn to navigate as far as the Persian gulph: for ships were as old, even upon the Mediterranean, as the days of Jacob <sup>f</sup>. But though the arts above-mentioned were so early known to the Edomites, as we may suppose they were not very forward to discover those things on which their trade depended, the rest of the world lived long without them. When the Edomites fled from David into Egypt with their young king Hadad, they very probably carried these arts thither: for we hear nothing of Letters before the days of David, except among the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians attributed the invention of them to Thoth, the secretary of Osiris, or Sefac;

<sup>c</sup> Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52.

<sup>d</sup> Judg. viii. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 23, 28. & l. 7. c. 56. The Red Sea was so called, not from its colour, but from *Edom* and *Erythra*, the names of Esau, which signify that colour.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xlix. 13. Judg. v. 17.

whence



whence it appears that they begun to be in use in Egypt a little after the flight of the Edomites from David. Moses indeed, who was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians, wrote the Law in a book long before ; but as he married the daughter of the Prince of Midian, and lived with him no less than 40 years, he probably learnt letters in that country, where they had long been in use ; and Job who lived among the <sup>s</sup> Edomites, the neighbours of Midian, mentions the writing down of words as practised there in his days. Nor do we hear any thing of Astronomy, before the Egyptians under Ammon and Sefac applied themselves to that study, except the Constellations mentioned by Job <sup>h</sup>, who lived in Arabia Petræa among the merchants. As little do we hear of carpenters or good architecture, before Solomon sent to Hiram king of Tyre to supply him with such artificers, saying *there were none in Israel that had skill to hew timber like the Zidonians.* The Egyptians having the art of making linnen cloth, began about the time that the Edomites fled to them from David, and taught them navigation, to build long ships with sails † in their port on the Red Sea near Coptos, and at Irafra in Lybia on the Mediterranean ; and having learnt the skill of the Edomites, to observe the positions of the stars, and the length of the Solar year, for enabling them to know the positions of the stars at any time, and to sail by them at all times, without sight of the shoar. And this gave a beginning to *Astronomy* and *Navigation*: for hitherto they had only coasted along the shoar

<sup>s</sup> Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 47.

<sup>h</sup> Job xix. 23, 24.

† Ammon the father of Sefac was the first that built tall ships with sails.

with oars, in round vessels of burden. Their old year was Lunisolar, consisting of 12 months, and each month of 30 days. To the end of this Calendar year they now added 5 days, which made the solar year of 365 days<sup>i</sup>. About the same time that these arts were brought into Egypt, they were also carried into Chaldæa<sup>k</sup>, and into Greece by Cadmus and his followers. Herodotus<sup>l</sup> says they introduced many new doctrines; and that among them were a sort of men called Curetes, exceeding well skilled in the arts and sciences of Phœnicia, who were called by different names in the several places where they settled<sup>m</sup>. In Phrygia they were named Corybantes, in Crete Idæi Dactyli, in Rhodes Telchines, in Samothrace Cabiri; in Eubæa, before iron was found out, they wrought in copper, whence the city Chalcis had its name; in Lemnos they assisted Vulcan; and Ætolia was from them formerly called the country of the

<sup>i</sup> The ancient Egyptians feigned (Plut. de Isid. & Diod. l. 1.) that Rhea lay secretly with Saturn, and Sol prayed that she might not bring forth in any month, nor in the year; and that Mercury playing at dice with Luna, overcame and took from the Lunar year the 72d part of every day, and thereof composed five days, which he added to the year of 360 days, that she might bring forth in them; and the Egyptians celebrated those five days as the birth-days of Rhea's five children, Osiris, Orus senior, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe the wife of Typhon. Now Osiris was Sésac, and therefore the five days were added in his father's reign, or in the latter part of David's. But the solstices not being yet settled, the beginning of this new year might not be fixed to the Vernal Equinox before the reign of Amenophis, as has been said p. 283.

<sup>k</sup> Hellad. ap. Phot. c. 279. Hygin. Fab. 274. Polyhist. ap. Euseb.

<sup>l</sup> L. 5. c. 58.

<sup>m</sup> Strab. l. 10.

Curetes.

**Curetes.** By the assistance of these artificers **Cadmus** discovered gold in the mountains of **Thrace**, and copper at **Thebes**, the ore of which is still called **Cadmia** from him. Having afterwards found out iron in mount **Ida** in **Crete**, they made themselves armour of it, in which they danced at their sacrifices with tumult, and clamour, and bells, and pipes, and drums, and swords, wherewith they struck upon each other's armour in musical time, appearing seized with a divine fury. And this is reckoned the original of *Musick* and *Dancing* in **Greece** <sup>p</sup>. The same people also introduced *Letters*, and *musical Rhymes* or *Poetry* <sup>q</sup>. Letters were at the same time brought into **Phrygia** and **Crete** by the **Curetes**, and called *Epbesian*, from the city where they were first taught. By their manufacturing copper and iron into swords, armour, and edged tools for hewing and carving of wood, they brought into **Europe** a new way of fighting, and gave **Minos** an opportunity of building a fleet, and gaining the dominion of the seas, and set on foot the trades of *Carpenters* and *Smiths* in **Greece**, which are the foundation of all manual arts. But **Minos's** fleet had no *Sails* at first <sup>r</sup>, and these were the wings which the Poets feigned **Dædalus** made himself, when by adding them to his Vessel, he fled from **Minos** into **Sicily**: So that ships with *Sails* were not used by the **Greeks** before the flight of **Dædalus**, and the death of **Minos**, who was slain pursuing him into **Sicily** in the reign of **Reho-**

<sup>p</sup> Solin. Polyhist. c. 11. Ibid. Orig. l. 11. c. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Clem. Strom. l. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Paus. l. 9. c. 11.

boam. This Dædalus † and his nephew Talus invented the *Chip-ax*, *Saw*, *Perpendicular*, *Wimble*, *Compass*, *Turning-lath*, *Glew*, and the *Potters-wheel*; and his father Eupalamus contrived the *Anchor*. Thoas, or Cinyras, K. of Cyprus, found out copper there, (whence it has its name) and the Smith's hammer, anvil, tongs and laver\*. And this was the origin of *manual Trades* and *Arts* in Europe.

Sesostris left in Colchos tables or descriptions of all his conquests, and this gave a beginning to *Geography*. When he returned into Egypt, he divided the land among the Egyptians, which was the rise of *Surveying* and *Geometry*. Psammiticus, K. of Egypt, about 650 years before Christ, allowed the Ionians free access into Egypt, and thence came all the Greek philosophy, astronomy and geometry.

Before the arrival of the Egyptian strangers in the days of Eli and Samuel, the Greeks fed only upon roots and herbs: Pelasgus first taught the Arcadians to eat the acorns of the beech-tree‡. Myles, the son of Lelex, (another E-

† Dædalus an Athenian was a very ingenious artist, and taught his skill to Talus his sister's son. Talus improved very fast by his instructions, but having invented the *Potter's-Wheel*, Dædalus fearing lest his nephew's genius should excel his own, threw him out of the window in a rage, and killed him. Upon this he fled to Minos in Crete, where he built the famous Labyrinth, in which 'tis said the Mino-taure was kept: But being suspected of serving Pasiphae the wife of Minos in some extravagant amours, he was clapt up in it himself. However, he escaped out of it at last, and fled into Sicily, whither Minos having pursued him was stifled to death by the daughters of Cocalus king of that island in a *Stove* or *Bagnio*; and some say Dædalus had met with the same fate from them before.

\* Clem. Al. Admon. ad Gent. p. 21. Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

‡ Pauf. l. 8 c. 1, 2.

gyptian

gyptian Leader who settled in Laconia) first set up a Quern, or Hand-mill to grind corn, which they had now found the way to bring from Egypt. Erechtheus, also an Egyptian, for the service of procuring corn to be brought into Attica from Egypt, was made K. of Athens about the 25th of David's reign. He was also the first who joined horses to a chariot in Greece. In the beginning of his reign, and about the 30th of David's, <sup>†</sup> Ceres, a woman of Sicily, came into Attica, in quest of her daughter Proserpine; she educated Triptolemus, the son of Celeus, and taught him to sow corn; which art he again communicated to several others.

When mankind were scattered into several countries in the days of Peleg, as has been mentioned, they probably carried along with them the laws, customs and religion under which they had till then been educated and governed by Noah and his Descendants, and for some time observed them, as we find by the history of Abraham and Melchizedec. The latter was King of Jebus, afterwards called Jerusalem, and Priest of the most high God there; and Abraham voluntarily paid tithes to him, which he would hardly have done, if they had not been of the same religion. It appears also in the book of Job \*, that this religion consisted chiefly in *believing that the World was framed and governed by one supreme God, in loving and worshipping him, honouring our Parents, loving our Neighbours as our selves, and being merciful even to brute beasts*: and as there was no dispute be-

<sup>†</sup> For Ceres lay with Jafius, the brother of Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus. Hom. Odyss. E. & Diod. l. 5.

\* See particularly c. i. 5, &c. 31. Gen. ix. 4. Lev. xvii. 12, 13.

tween Job and his friends about these matters, they with their countrymen seem to have been all of the same religion. But at length men, forsaking this pure and simple religion of nature, fell into various kinds of idolatry; which seems to have begun in Chaldæa and Egypt, and from thence to have overspread the whole earth. The sun *when it shined*, and the moon *walking in brightness*, appear to have been the earliest, as those glorious Luminaries are indeed the most natural and excusable objects of idolatrous worship, (if I may use the expression); for it is mentioned by Job<sup>b</sup>, as *an iniquity to be punished by the judge*. Men came afterwards by degrees to deify and adore their dead benefactors. The countries upon the Nile and the Tigris being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, grew first into kingdoms, and upon that account began first to adore their dead Kings and Queens, for the benefits they had received from them; every city setting up the worship of its own Founder and Kings, and spreading it by alliances and conquests. Hence came the gods of Laban, the gods and goddesses called Baalim and Ashtaroth by the Canaanites, and the dæmons or ghosts to whom they sacrificed, and the Moloch to whom they offered their children in the days of Moses and the Judges. The kingdom of Egypt began to worship their Princes before the days of Moses, and to this the 2d Commandment is opposed. When the shepherds † invaded the lower Egypt, they checked this worship, and spread that of their own Kings.

<sup>b</sup>. C. xxxi. ver. 26.

† These shepherds Sir Isaac supposes to have been the Canaanites, that were driven out by Joshua. They were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they sacrificed and fed upon the flesh of animals.

At length the Egyptians of Coptos and Thebais (under Misphragmuthosis and Amosis) having expelled the shepherds † in the days of Eli and Samuel, put a stop to the worship of their gods, to whom they offered human sacrifices, and deifying their own Princes, propagated the worship of 12 of them into their conquests, and by that means made them more universal than the false gods of any other nation, so as to be called *Dii magni majorum Gentium* <sup>c</sup>. When the Phœnicians came into Greece under Cadmus, they introduced there the custom of deifying the dead; for there are no footsteps of this practice before that time; whereas there are innumerable instances of it in the great men who lived in and a little after the days of Cadmus <sup>d</sup>. Accordingy the Curetes deified *Asterius*, K. of Crete, *Europa* his Queen and their Countrywoman, and *Minos* her son, by the names of *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter*. These Curetes <sup>e</sup>, for their arts, knowledge, and mystical practices, were reputed wisemen and conjurers by the vulgar. In Phrygia their mysteries were about *Rhea*, called *Magna mater*, and from the places where she was worshipped *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Pessinuntia*, *Dindymene*, *Mygdonia*, and *Idæa Phrygia*; in Crete and the *Terra Curetum*, they were about *Jupiter Olympius*, son of the Cretan *Rhea*. They represented, that when *Jupiter* was born in Crete, his mother *Rhea* caused him to be educated in a cave in mount Ida under their tui-

† This was the first expulsion of the shepherds, according to our Author; for the second see p. 306.

<sup>c</sup> Herodor. l. 2. ad init. Diod. l. 1. p. 8. The names of many Cities of Egypt dedicated to these gods, shew them to have come originally from that country.

<sup>d</sup> See Sir Isaac's Chronology, p. 159.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. l. 10. Diod. l. 5. c. 4.

tion and care, and that they danced <sup>f</sup> about him in armour with great noise, that his father Saturn who devoured his children, might not hear him cry, and when he was grown up assisted him in conquering his father; in memory of which things, they instituted their mysteries. Now the two first Kings of Crete, after the coming of Cadmus and the Curetes, were *Asterius* and *Minos*. *Europa* their Countrywoman was the Queen of the former, and Mother of the latter; and in her reign they dwelt in the Idæan cave, where they educated *Jupiter*, found out iron, and made armor. Hence it seems plain that *Asterius* was *Saturn*, *Europa* his Queen was *Rhea*, and their son *Minos*, who dethroned his father, was that *Jupiter*.<sup>s</sup> so famous among the Greeks for dominion and justice, he having been the greatest Prince in all Greece in those days, and the only Legislator. This opinion our Author confirms by numerous arguments: as 1. Lucian<sup>h</sup> expressly says that *Europa* the mother of *Minos* was worshipped by the name of *Rhea*, in the form of a woman sitting in a chariot drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a *Corona turrata* on her head, like *Astarte* and *Isis*. 2. The Cretans anciently shewed the house where this *Rhea*<sup>i</sup> lived; and

<sup>f</sup> Lucian. de Sacrif. Apollod. l. 1. c. 1. §. 3. & c. 2. §. 1.

<sup>s</sup> *Minos* is indeed usually called the son of *Jupiter*; but this is in relation to the fable that *Jupiter*, in the shape of a Bull, the ensign of the ship, carried away *Europa* from Zidon, and by her had *Minos*: for the Phœnicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of *Iao-pater* to every King; and thus both *Minos* and his father were Jupiters.

<sup>h</sup> De Dea Syria,

<sup>i</sup> Diod. l. 5. c. 4.



not only said that *Jupiter* was born and buried in their island, but also shewed his sepulchre <sup>k</sup>; and Pythagoras went down into the Idæan cave to see it <sup>l</sup>. Cicero says, that one of the three *Jupiters* was the *Cretan*, *Saturn's* son, whose sepulchre was shewed in Crete <sup>m</sup>; and this the Scholiast upon Callimachus <sup>n</sup> tells us was the sepulchre of Minos. 4. By *Saturn* the father of *Jupiter*, Cicero being a Latin understood him whom his countrymen called so. For when Saturn was expelled his kingdom by his son, he fled first into Attica; and being there defeated by Hercules Idæus <sup>o</sup>, he fled by sea to Italy, which the Poets expressed by saying that Jupiter cast him down to *Tartarus*, i. e. *the Sea*: and because he lay hid for some time in Italy, it was thence called *Saturnia* and *Latium*. Now this Saturn <sup>p</sup> first carried Letters into Italy, first coined <sup>q</sup> money there, taught the inhabitants agriculture <sup>r</sup>, to make instruments, and build towns. By these circumstances it is evident, he fled from Crete after Letters, the coining of Money, and manual Arts were brought into Greece by Cadmus and his followers, and from Attica after agriculture was brought into Greece by Ceres, and therefore could

\* Lucian. de Sacrif.

<sup>l</sup> Porphy. vit. Pythag.

<sup>m</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Hymn. 1. ver. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Paus. l. 5. c. 7, 13, 14. & l. 8. c. 2, 29.

<sup>p</sup> Cypr. de Idol. vanit. & Tertul. Apol. c. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Hence the Roman *Ærarium* or Treasury was dedicated to him, and called *Ædes Saturni*, the *Temple of Saturn*. In memory of his coming into Italy by sea, the Latines coined their first money with an head on one side, and a ship on the other.

<sup>r</sup> Whence he was represented like an old man, with a scythe in his hand.

not be older than *Asterius*. 5. *Oenotrus*, † the son of *Lycaon*, and grandson of *Pelægus* the Egyptian, who settled in Arcadia in the latter days of *Eli*, carried the first colony into Italy a little before *Solomon's* reign, and from him that country was called *Oenotria*. Now it was afterwards called *Saturnia*, and therefore *Saturn* could not be older than *Oenotrus*, and the other sons of *Lycaon* who flourished in *David's* reign, and consequently not older than *Asterius*. 6. *Saturn*, while he reigned over the *Titans* in *Olympus* a mountain in *Crete*, and *Jupiter* was educated by the *Curetes* in the *Cretan* cave ‡, deceived *Rhea*, and begat *Chiron* of *Philyra*. Therefore the *Cretan Rhea* and *Saturn* were but one generation older than *Chiron*, and consequently not older than *Asterias* and *Europa* the parents of *Minos*: for *Chiron* lived till the *Argonautic Expedition*, and had two grandsons in it; and *Europa* came into Greece above 100 years before it, and there married *Asterius*, and bore *Minos* to him. 7. It has been shown above, that gold, silver, copper and iron were first found out in Greece by the *Phœnicians*: And the four ages of the world, the golden, silver, brazen and iron ages, could not be earlier than the invention and use of those metals in Greece, and therefore not earlier than *Cadmus*.

From all these circumstances it appears that the *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter*, the oldest gods

† Sir Isaac thinks that *Oenotrus* was the *Fanus* of the *Latins*, who knew nothing older than *Fanus* and *Saturn*. *Fanus* instituted the *Saturnalia*, erected an altar, and offered human sacrifices to *Saturn* after his death; by which last circumstance he seems to have been of the race of *Lycaon*, and this agrees to *Oenotrus*. *Adactyl. Saturn. l. 1. c. 7.*

‡ *Apollon. Argon. l. 2. ver. 1236.*

of the Greeks, were *Asterius*, *Europa*, and *Minos*, and that as the Egyptians who deified their kings began their monarchy with the reign of the gods and heroes, reckoning Menes the first man who reigned after their gods; so the Cretans had the ages of their gods and heroes, calling the first four ages of their deified kings and princes the golden, silver, brazen and iron ages.

Hesiod <sup>b</sup> describing these four ages of the gods and demigods of Greece, represents them as four *generations of men*, each of which ended when the men living in it grew hoary, and dropt into the grave, and says that the 4th ended with the wars of Thebes and Troy. Now from the coming of the Phœnicians and Curetes with Cadmus and Europa into Greece, there were just so many generations to the destruction of Troy; for Idomeneus the great grandson of Asterius and Europa was at the siege of that city. When the Argonauts came to Crete they slew Talus the son of Minos, a brazen man, who remained of those that were of the brazen age: therefore the sons of Minos lived in the brazen age, and Minos reigned in the silver one: men began to plow and sow in the silver age, and

<sup>b</sup> Oper. & Di. v. 108. Hesiod makes five ages; the golden, silver, brazen, heroic, and iron ages. The fourth, he says, ended with the siege of Troy, and he lived in the 5th; that is, according to Sir Isaac, within 30 or 35 years after that siege, or about 100 after the death of Solomon. Homer was much about the same age, for he lived some time in Ithaca with Mentor, and learnt of him several things concerning Ulysses, with whom Mentor had been personally acquainted. *Vita homeri Herodoto. adscripta.* His Poems were first brought out of Asia into Greece by Lycurgus, about 270 or 280 years after Solomon's death.

Ceres who taught them to do it flourished in the reign of Celeus, Erechtheus and Minos: the last woman Jupiter lay with was Alcmena, who bore to him Hercules the Argonaut; this might be about the 9th or 10th of Rehoboam's reign, a little before Minos was slain, and seems to put an end to the silver age in which Jupiter reigned. Chiron was begot by Saturn in the golden age, when Jupiter was a child in the Cretan cave, and so might be about 88 years old at the Argonautic Expedition; and this is within the reach of nature, the course of which is entirely overturned by those who make these ages much longer than ordinary generations<sup>c</sup>.

This fable of the four ages seems to have been made by the Curetes in the fourth age, in memory of the first four ages of their coming into Europe, as into a new world, and in honour of their country-woman *Europa* the *Cretan Rhea*, and of her husband *Asterius* the *Saturn* of the *Latins*, and of her son *Minos* the *Cretan Jupiter*, and her grandson *Deucalion*,

<sup>c</sup> There is not the least room to fancy they were longer than ordinary generations from Hesiod's account of them. He calls each age *ἡ γενεά ἀνδρῶν*, which is word for word a *generation of men*, and ought not to be construed an *age of the world*, as some would have it. He tells us each age ended when the men living in it died, and were buried. He says the third age worked in brass, and made armour of it, because iron was not yet found out; and this shows Sir Isaac's explication to be very just and natural, which the contrary one is not. As for what he says that in the second age boys were nursed by their mothers 100 years before they came to be men, you need only compare it with what he says of the third age, that they were terrible fighting fellows, and yet never eat a bit of viſuals: neither of which can be understood literally, nor any serious argument drawn from them.

who

who lived till the Argonautic Expedition, and is sometimes reckoned to have been in it, and of her great grandson *Idomeneus* who warred at Troy.

From the examples of the Egyptians and Phœnicians it came in fashion among the Greeks, *Παύειν*, *parentare*, to celebrate the funerals of dead parents with festivals, invocations, and sacrifices offered to their ghosts, and to erect magnificent sepulchres in the form of temples, with altars and statues, to persons of renown; and there to honour them publicly with sacrifices and invocations. Every man might do it to his ancestors, and the cities of Greece did it to all the eminent Greeks. They deified their dead in several manners according to their abilities and circumstances, and the merits of the person; some only in private families, as household-gods or *Dii penates*; others by erecting grave-stones to them in publick, to be used as altars for annual sacrifices; others by building also to them sepulchres in the form of houses or temples; and some by appointing mysteries, ceremonies, set sacrifices, festivals, initiations, and a succession of priests for performing these institutions in the temples, and handing them down to posterity. Altars might possibly begin to be erected in Europe by the strangers that came into it from Egypt a little before the days of Cadmus, for sacrificing to the old god or gods of the colonies; but temples began there in the days of Solomon; for *Æacus*<sup>d</sup> the son of *Ægina*, who was two generations older than the Trojan war, is by some reputed one of the first who built a temple in Greece; and the temple of *Juno Ar-*

<sup>d</sup> Arnob. adv. gent. lib. 6.

*Iva* was built by Eurydice to her daughter Danae by that name about the same time with the temple of Solomon ; and the temple built to Ceres at Eleusine was not older than the tenth year of Solomon's reign ; and yet these are the first instances we meet with in Greece of deifying the dead with temples, sacred rites, sacrifices, initiations, and a succession of priests to perform them.

About the same time were oracles first brought into Greece from Egypt. Sefac having deified his father Ammon, erected temples and oracles to him in Thebes, Ammonia and Ethiopia ; and this was the original of the worship of Jupiter Ammon, and the first mention of oracles in prophane history. One of the priestesses of Jupiter Ammon being brought into Greece by some Phœnician merchants about the middle of Solomon's reign, set up the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona<sup>e</sup> ; and about the same time Phœmonœe became the first priestess of Apollo at Delphi, and gave oracles in hexameter verse. By the dictates of these oracles, which were the first in Greece, idolatry was mightily propagated, and the worship of the gods of Egypt introduced into Greece. For though the Greeks did deify and adore their own dead princes, yet most of their idols came from Egypt, particularly the twelve called *Dii magni majorum gentium*. And accordingly the first images of them in Greece had their legs bound up like Egyptian mummies, till Dædalus found out the art of making statues with their feet asunder as if they walked.

Sesostris, upon his return into Egypt, divided<sup>f</sup> it into 36 Nomes or Counties, and dug a canal

<sup>e</sup> Herod. l. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Diod. l. i. p. 36.

from the Nile to the head city of every Nome, and with the earth dug out of it he caused the ground of the city to be raised higher, and built a temple thereon in each city for the worship of the Nome, and in these temples set up oracles. By this means the Egyptians of every Nome were induced to worship the great men of the kingdom to whom the Nome, the city, and the temple or sepulchre of the God was dedicated. For every temple had its proper god, modes of worship, and annual festivals, at which the council and people of the Nome met at certain times to sacrifice, regulate the affairs of the Nome, administer justice, and buy and sell; but Sefac himself and his queen, by the names of Osiris and Isis, were worshipped through all Egypt. In those days the writing of the Thebans and Ethiopians was in Hieroglyphics; and this way of writing seems to have spread into the lower Egypt in the days of Moses; from thence came the worship of their gods in the various shapes of birds, beasts, and fishes, forbidden in the second commandment. Now this emblematical way of writing gave occasion to the Thebans and Ethiopians, who in the days of Samuel, David, Solomon, and Rehoboam conquered Egypt and the nations round about, and erected a mighty empire, to represent their conquering kings and princes, not by writing down their names, but by making various hieroglyphical figures, under which they worshipped them in the sepulchres or temples of the Nomes dedicated to them: as an *ox*, a *cat*, a *dog*, a *cebus*, a *goat*, a *lion*, a *scarabæus*, an *ichneumon*, a *crocodile*, an *hippopotamus*, an *oxyrinchus*, an *ibis*, a *crow*, an *hawk*, a *leek*; making choice of some creature, whose most remarkable

markable qualities had an obvious affinity with the character or actions of the person represented by it. Thus they painted Amosis with a scythe, to signify that king who conquered the lower Egypt, a country abounding with corn. His son *Ammon* was painted with ram's horns, because he conquered Lybia, a country abounding with sheep; he was called *Jupiter*, and represented upon an eagle to signify the sublimity of his dominion, and with a thunderbolt because he was a great warrior; he was also called *Coelus*, or *Ouranus*, and *Jupiter Uranius*, and his queen *Rhea*, *Titæa*, and *Juno*. His son Sefac was called *Osiris*, and represented by an ox, because he taught the conquered nations to plow with oxen; he was also called *Bacchus*, and painted with bull's horns for the same reason, and with grapes, because he taught the nations to plant vines; and upon a tiger, because he subdued India; he was also called *Hercules*, and painted with pillars and a club, because he set up pillars in all his conquests, and fought against the Lybians, whom he conquered, with clubs; he was also the *Mars* of the antients, and his queen was *Isis*, or *Astræa*<sup>b</sup>. Orus the son of Osiris was *Apollo*, and was

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus, l. 1. 8. says the Egyptians usually represented that after their Saturn and Rhea reigned Jupiter and Juno, the parents of Osiris and Isis, the parents of Orus and Bubaste. If so, then Amosis and his queen were the Egyptian Saturn and Rhea.

<sup>b</sup> When Orus was drowned in the Nile, his sister Bubaste killed herself by falling from the top of an house, and their mother Isis or Astræa went mad; and thus ended the reign of the gods in Egypt; whence Ovid says,

*Ultima cœlestium terras Astræa reliquit.*

... painted



painted with a harp, because he was a great lover and master of that instrument ; he was also called *Holius*, or *Sol*, and being drowned in Eridanus or Nile was the *Phaeton* of the antients ; his sister Bubaste was called *Selene*, that is, *Luna*, the *Diana* of the antients. Japetus the son and admiral of Osiris was called *Typhon*, *Pythion*, and *Neptune*, and was painted with a trident, to signify the commander of a fleet composed of three squadrons ; he was surnamed *Equestris* too, because he furnished Solomon, the Hittites, and Syrians with horses, which came originally from Lybia ; he was also called *Ægeon*, and *Briareus*, and represented like a giant with 50 heads and 100 hands, to signify him with his men in a ship of 50 oars <sup>i</sup>. Tho'th the secretary of Osiris was *Mercury*, and was represented with a dog's head, and wings at his cap and feet, and a *Caduceus* in his hand wreathen about with two serpents, to signify a man of craft, and an ambassador who reconciled two contending nations †. *Pan* was represented with a pipe and the

<sup>i</sup> The Cretans affirmed that Neptune was the first man who set out a fleet, having obtained the Præfecture of the sea from his father Saturn. Diod. l. 5. The invention of tall ships with sails is also ascribed to him. Paus. l. 7. c. 21.

† The war of the Gods and Giants in Egypt was very famous. The Gods were the great Men of Egypt, and the Giants the great Men of Lybia, who had slain Osiris, and invaded Egypt. *Atlas*, or *Antæus*, was at the head of the Lybians ; Hercules overthrew him several times, but every time he grew stronger by recruits from Lybia his mother Earth, till Hercules intercepted them, and slew him : and this is the foundation of the fable of Antæus, whom Hercules could not destroy, but by holding him up from the ground, and squeezing him to death ; and of the fable of Hercules's conquering Atlas, and making him pay tribute out of his golden Orchard, the kingdom of Africk. The war was at last composed by the intervention of Mercury.

legs of a goat, to signify a man who delighted in piping and dancing; he was general of the Ethiopians in Sefac's army, and it was the custom of that people to dance, when they were entering into a battel, and from their skipping they were painted with goat's feet, and were the *Satyrs* of the antients. *Minerva* or *Pallas* commanded the Lybian women, called *Amazons*, in Sefac's army, whence she is painted with a helmet. Calycopis the mother of *Aeneas*, the daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia, and the mistress of Bacchus or Mars, was *Venus*, and was painted in a chariot drawn by two doves, to represent her amorous and lustful. Her husband was Thoas<sup>k</sup>, a Cretan worker in metals, whom Rhadamanthus made king of Lemnos<sup>l</sup>; and the great Bacchus being caught in bed with his wife in Phrygia appeased him with wine, and by making him king of Byblus and Cyprus. He was also called *Ginyras*, because of his skill on the harp, for which he was exceedingly beloved by Apollo or Orus. He is the only king celebrated in history for working in metals, and because he made armour for the Egyptians, was by them deified, and had a magnificent temple erected at Memphis to him, under the name of *Baal-Canaan* or *Vulcan*. His son Gingris being slain by a wild boar, he deified him by the name of *Adonis*. After the death of his wife Calycopis, he built<sup>m</sup> temples to her at Paphos, and Amathus in Cyprus, and at Byblus in Syria, and instituted priests to her with sacred rites and lust-

<sup>k</sup> Hom. *Odys.* *Θ.* v. 268, 292. Hymn. 1, & 2. in Ven. Hesiod. *Theog.* v. 192.

<sup>l</sup> Diod. l. 5. p. 238.

<sup>m</sup> Clem. Alexand. *Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 10, 21. Apollod. l. 3. c. 13. Pind. *Pyth. Od.* 2. Hesych. in *Κιρρυγιάδα*. Steph. in *Αμαθίς*. Strab. l. 16. p. 755.

ful *Orgia*; whence she became the *Dea Cypria* and the *Dea Syria*, and from temples erected to her in these and other places she was also called *Paphia*, *Amathusia*, *Byblia*, *Cytherea*, *Salaminia*, *Cnidia*, *Erycina*, *Idalia*, &c. From her sailing from Phrygia to the island Cythera, and from thence to be queen of Cyprus, she was said by the Cyprians to be born of the froth of the sea, and was painted sailing upon a shell. Her three waiting women became the three *Græces*; and the singing women who accompanied Sesostris in his wars in Thrace, were celebrated there by the name of the *Muses*, as were also the daughters of *Pierus* a Thracian who imitated them.

And thus you see most of the Heathen gods came originally from Egypt; and 12 of them contained in this distich:

*Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,  
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo;*  
to whom the Sun, the seven Planets, and the four Elements were dedicated, were called *Dii magni majorum Gentium*, and brought into Greece by Amphibityon the son of Prometheus, the nephew of Sesostris. Yet the Cretan Mythology differed in some things from that of Egypt; for according to the former, *Coelus* and *Terra*, or *Uranus* and *Titæa*, were the parents of Saturn and Rhea, and these the parents of Jupiter and Juno: and Saturn was expelled his kingdom, and castrated by his son Jupiter; which fable has no place in the Egyptian Mythology.

To these gods of Egypt, the Greeks added an infinite number of their own. Minos was not only their Jupiter; but he and his brother Rhadamanthus were also the Judges of Hell.

Probably because he was renowned for his justice and power at sea, which the Poets called *Tartarus*.

They worshipped Dánae, the daughter of Acrisius and Euridice, by the name of *Juno Argiva* : they deified Ceres, her daughter Proserpina, and her daughter's husband Pluto, and made these two King and Queen of hell. They deified also Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, and her son Melicertus, with a multitude of others.

To several of them they instituted solemn games and mysteries. The *Olympic Game of Racing*, to which the *Quinquertium* was afterwards added by Lycurgus, was first instituted by Hercules Idæus at Olympia, a place in Elea upon the confines of Pisa, near the river Alpheus, in memory of the victory there obtained by Jupiter over his father Saturn °. Upon the flight of Phryxus and Helle, their father Athamas went mad, and slew his son Learchus : their stepmother Ino, who had been the cause of all this mischief, fearing his resentment, threw her self into the sea with her other son Melicertus ; in honour of whom his uncle Sisyphus instituted the *Isthmian games* at Corinth °. The *Eleusinia sacra* were instituted with Egyptian ceremonies, and a sepulchre or temple built at Eleusis in Attica, in honour of Ceres, for her introducing agriculture : And the *Samothracian mysteries* were at the same time instituted in Samothrace to her and her daughter Proserpina, and her daughter's husband Pluto, under the Phœnician names of *Dii Cabiri*, (i. e. the Great Gods) *Axiéros*, *Axiokersa*, and *Axiokerses*.

° Pauf. l. 5. c. 7, 13, 14. l. 8. c. 2, 29.

† He founded that city about the end of Solomon's reign.

Thus

Thus have I finished my Abstract of this excellent Work, and am persuaded I need make no apology for having dwelt so long upon it. The usefulness of Chronology, the new and curious manner in which Sir Isaac has treated it, together with the considerable Amendments he has made in it, required that his System and the arguments with which his opinions are supported, should be set in as clear a light as possible. This is what I have endeavoured to do; and indeed, it is all that is necessary to enable those who think for themselves, and whose reason is not blind-folded by prejudice, to answer the unjust and rash cavils of a few forward Critics, which for that reason I did not think worth notice; seeing this, like all Sir Isaac's Works, needs no other Defence than that of being understood.

The great events of Antiquity had long lain like the ruins of some mighty building, demolished by the injuries of time, and hid in rubbish, notwithstanding the many attempts made to repair it. But at last we see the noble structure rise, in all its original symmetry, strength and beauty; every material being restored to its ancient and proper place, by the masterly hand of Sir Isaac Newton! a man born to be the honour of his country, and of human nature itself; the glory of his own age, and the admiration of all succeeding ones; born for the universal good and improvement of mankind, to instruct them in the most delightful and useful knowledge, and to correct those errors that were in a manner consecrated by their antiquity, and established by the authority of great

APRIL 1728.

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names;

names ; who alone has taught us more than all the Philosophers before him ; who has so clearly explained the greatest mysteries of nature and obscurities of history, that he has hardly left us any thing to wonder at but himself ; who, had he lived in ancient Greece or Rome ; would have been thought worthy to have statues of gold erected to his memory, or rather he would have been ranked among the gods : for no mortal ever approached Divinity so near,

*Nec fas est propius mortali attingere Divos.*

But his name needs no such honours : his own works are far more glorious and lasting monuments to his praise, than those of brass or gold :

*Exegit monimentum ære perennius,  
Regalique situ Pyramidum altius ;  
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens  
Possit diruere ; aut innumerabilis  
Annorum series, & fuga temporum.*

## P O S T S C R I P T.

FOR the sake of those who are not skilled in Chronology, it may not be improper to subjoin here a method for reducing the years of the most noted Æras to the years before Christ, by which the reductions made in this Abstract may be examined, and the errors corrected, if any have escaped me.

The *Julian Period* began 4713 years before Christ : therefore subtract the *given year* of the  
*Julian*

Art. 22. *the Republick of Letters.* 351

*Julian Period* from 4714 the first of the *Christian Æra*, the remainder is the year *before Christ*.

The *death of Solomon* happened 979 years *before Christ*: therefore subtract the *given year* after the *death of Solomon* from 979, the remainder is the year *before Christ*.

The *first Olympiad* began 776 years *before Christ*: every *Olympiad* contained the space of *four years*: therefore the number less than the number of the *given Olympiad* must be multiplied by four, and the *given year* of the *given Olympiad* added to the product, and the sum of these two subtracted from 777, gives the year *before Christ*.

The *Æra of Nabonassar* began on the 26th of February, 747 years *before Christ*. The year of *Nabonassar* wanted 5 hours 49 minutes of the *Equinoctial year*; and therefore the first day of it went back, or began sooner, about one day in four years, and one whole year in 1460 *Julian years*: so that 1460 *Julian years* made 1461 years of *Nabonassar*. Hence it came to pass that the *Tboth*, or first day of the year of *Nabonassar* 227, begun with the *Julian year* on the *first of January*; and that *Julian year* being *Leap-year*, and so consisting of 366 days, the *Tboth* of the next year 228 of *Nabonassar* begun on the *last of December* in the same year: so that two years of *Nabonassar* begun in one and the same *Julian year*: and the same thing happened again after 1460 *Julian years*, or 1461 years of *Nabonassar*, viz. in 1688 of that *Æra*; and again

again in 3149 of the same *Æra*. These three numbers therefore must be observed, *viz.*

227. 1688. 3149.

And if the *year of Nabonassar* given to be reduced be not greater than the first number, subtract it from 748 ; if it be greater than the first, but not greater than the second, subtract it from 749 ; and if it be greater than the second, but not greater than the third, subtract it from 750 : the remainder will always give you the year *before Christ*.





THE  
Present State,  
OF THE  
REPUBLICK  
OF  
LETTERS.

For *May*, 1728.

VOL. I.

— *Pungor vice cotis, acutum  
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secant.*  
Horat.

LONDON:

Printed for WILLIAM INNYS, at the West  
End of St. Paul's. MDCCLXXIII.

Price One Shilling.

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6. A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection, by *William Law*, A. M. The Second Edition. 8vo. 1728.



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THE



THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

For MAY 1728.

ARTICLE XXIII.

REMARKS by Mr. BENJ. ROBINS;  
*F. R. S. on a Treatise lately printed at  
Paris, and entitled, Discours sur les Loix  
de la communication du Movement, par  
Monsr. Bernoulli.*

**T**HE Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris  
having proposed, in the years 1724 and  
1726, two questions, one relating to  
the Laws of Motion and Percussion, the other con-  
cerning the Cause of Elasticity; Mr. John Bernoulli,  
Professor of the Mathematics at Basle, sent  
them some Papers of his, wherein he endeavoured  
to prove the opinion of Mr. Leibnitz, in relation  
to the Laws of Motion. These papers have  
MAY 1728. B b since

since been published at Paris, and I here intend to make some Remarks on them.

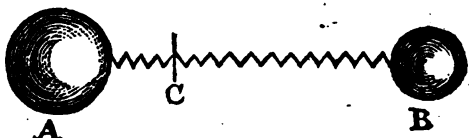
Mr. Bernoulli, Chap. I. §. 5. in order to prove that there are no bodies perfectly hard or inflexible, lays it down as an immutable law of nature, that no body can pass from motion to rest instantaneously, or without having its velocity gradually diminished. That this is a law of nature, Mr. Bernoulli thinks is evident from that principle, *Natura non operatur per saltum*, and from good sense. But how good sense can of itself, without experiments determine any of the laws of nature, is to me very astonishing: Indeed from any thing Mr. Bernoulli has said, it would have been altogether as conclusive to have begun at the other end, and have disputed, that no body can pass instantaneously from motion to rest; because it is an immutable law of nature, that all bodies shall be flexible.

In §. 18, Mr. Bernoulli defines perfect elasticity to be a power in a body, by which it restores itself to the same figure after compression, that it had before, independent of the readiness with which it restores itself; and a spring or body perfectly elastic in this sense will, he assures us, (Chap. II. §. 2.) produce the same velocity in a contiguous body by restoring itself, that it destroyed in being compressed. But this is contrary to experience, since there are great numbers of bodies perfectly elastic according to this definition, or such as perfectly restore themselves; but none are known, that will communicate the same velocity by their restitution, that they destroyed by their compression.

Mr. Bernoulli affirms, Chap. II. §. 3. that a spring must communicate the same velocity to a contiguous body in restoring itself, which it destroyed

stroyed when compressed ; for in this, says he, consists the equality of action and reaction. But Philosophers understand no more by the equality of action and reaction, than that when one body acts on another, that other reacts as much on the first at the same instant ; yet Mr. Bernoulli here affirms, that the spring, when it restores itself, will act on the body as much, as the body acted on the spring before, while the spring was bending ; which is a proposition altogether different from the former.

In Chap. III. §. 4. Mr. Bernoulli observes, that if the spring AB bent between the two bodies A and B



is divided in C in a reciprocal proportion to those bodies, then the point C will rest, while the whole spring by expanding itself communicates velocities to those bodies : whence he would conclude, that the springs between A and C only act on the body A, and those between C and B on the body B, whereas all the springs most certainly act against each body ; for the part CB could not act at all against the body B, if the other part CA did not support the point C ; and indeed of this his VIth chapter, if rightly considered, will be found to contain an ample proof.

And here I would observe, that the forces communicated to these two bodies are communicated by an equal pressure acting an equal time on each, as Mr. Bernoulli allows : Now how these two bodies can receive by this means different forces, much less forces, that may be in

any proportion assignable, is to me very wonderful; and yet is what really will happen, if Mr. Bernoulli's hypothesis is true, since those bodies receive in this case velocities reciprocally as their masses, as he himself allows.

Mr. Bernoulli, in his Vth chapter, takes a great deal of pains to show the difference between what he calls force *morte*, and force *vive*; or, as we shall translate it, the *inactive* and *vivid* force of bodies; that is, between pressure, and the force of a body in motion; and amongst the rest of his distinctions, he says, §. 6. that the acting of any spring or pressure upon a body supported by an immoveable obstacle does not at all diminish the force of that spring or pressure, as the force of air, condensed in a recipient is not at all diminished by the force it exerts against the sides of the recipient; but that no velocity or vivid force can be communicated to any body without the loss of so much force in the pressure, that produced it; as the elasticity of the condensed air would be diminished, if it acted against any body placed in the mouth of the receiver, and communicated any degree of velocity to it.

But here is a mistake, since the elasticity is not diminished, because the air has spent any of its force by acting against the body, and by communicating a degree of velocity to it; but because by that means it comes to possess a space greater than before, whereby its expansive force decreases: Now if any fluid had the same elastic force in different degrees of density, so as not to be weakened by expanding, such a fluid would not lose any of its force by putting a body in motion.

Besides,



Besides, Mr. Bernoulli here contradicts himself in asserting, that the production of any degree of vivid force requires the loss of an equal degree of force in the spring or pressure, that produces it ; when he has been arguing throughout the preceding part of this chapter, that the force of a spring or pressure is entirely different in nature from what he calls vivid force ; and therefore to speak of the force of a spring or pressure, as equal to any degree of vivid force, is on his own principles an absurdity ; and equally absurd is the 7th and 8th sections of this chapter, and the 9th section of the sixth chapter.

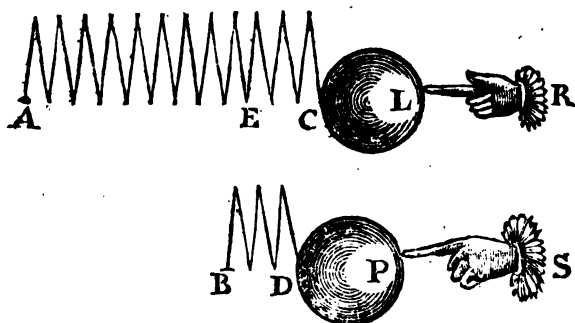
Mr. Bernoulli, in Chap. V. §. 2. tells us, that Mr. Leibnitz was the first, who discovered the force of a body in motion to be as the square of the velocity it moved with.

Mr. Leibnitz was indeed the first, who mentioned it, but in such a manner as was little to his honour, giving it by mistake for the common opinion ; for in a tract in the *Acta Eruditorum*, A. D. 1686. where he endeavours to prove the error of Cartes in asserting the same quantity of motion to be always preserved in the world, he says, that it is agreed on by the Cartesians, and all other philosophers and mathematicians, that there is the same force requisite to raise a body of one pound to the height of four yards, as to raise a body of four pounds to the height of one yard ; but being shewn, how widely he was mistaken in taking that for the common opinion, which would, if allowed, prove the force of a body to be as the square of the velocity it moved with, he afterwards, rather than own himself capable of such a mistake, endeavoured to defend it as true ; since

he found it was the necessary consequence of what he had once asserted; and maintained, that the force of a body in motion was proportional to the height from which it must fall to acquire that velocity: Which assertion alone contains, in effect, all the arguments, that Leibnitz and his followers have hitherto chiefly relied on.

Mr. Bernoulli in §. 13. observes, that, when Mr. Leibnitz's adversaries contended for taking into consideration the time of the body's rising or falling, they were not aware, that a body may be made to rise to different heights in the same time by means of an inverted cycloid. But here Mr. Bernoulli himself is overseen; and does not consider, that bodies, which rise to different heights in a cycloid in the same space of time, are not stopped by the same force; for the power of gravity acts upon these bodies but with a part of its whole force, and the action upon each is proportional to the space through which it moves. This therefore is as great a paralogism, as it would have been to have computed the forces of any body moving with different velocities from the heights it fell to acquire those velocities, tho' sometimes it fell in air, and in other cases in quicksilver.

In order to consider the sixth and seventh Chapters, it will be necessary to explain a scheme that he constantly refers to. A C is a range of springs, one extremity of which is fixed at the point A; each of these springs is kept bent to a certain angle by the power R, which presses the body L against the other extremity C. B D is another range containing a less number of springs, which are fixed at B, and bent to the same angles by the power S, which presses the body P against D.



Now Mr. Bernoulli says, that supposing the springs AC equal in strength to the springs BD, when bent to the same angle; or, which is the same thing, that the powers R and S, and the bodies L and P are equal; then the velocity communicated to the body L by the springs AC in expanding themselves to any larger angles (the power R being taken away) will be to the velocity communicated to the body P by the springs BD in expanding themselves to the same angles (the power S being taken away) in the subduplicate proportion of the number of springs AC to the number of springs BD.

This he demonstrates by showing the time, that AC acts against L in any given inflexion, to be in that proportion to the time, that BD acts against P in the same inflexion, when their forces are equal. See §. 1, and 2. Chap. VII.

And he having asserted, §. 9. Chap. VI. that the force communicated to L in this case, is to the force communicated to P in the simple proportion of the number of springs AC to the number of springs BD, he concludes, that the forces of the two equal bodies L and P are as the squares of their velocities.

But this conclusion will entirely depend on the truth of what is asserted in that 9th §. Let us therefore see what Mr. Bernoulli has advanced to make this probable.

Mr. Bernoulli tells us, as soon as the powers R and S are taken away, every spring exerting its force, and none of it perishing unusefully, the force of every one of these springs must of necessity be employed to produce its effect; which effect can be nothing else but moving the bodies. Therefore he says the motion of each body will be such, that its vivid force shall be precisely equal to the total effect of that, which the springs taken together shall have contributed to it; but as each of these springs dilates itself equally from one given angle to another, every one of them contributes equally to produce that force; therefore the vivid forces produced in the bodies L and P, will be as the number of springs, that have contributed to their production.

I shall pass by the equality between pressure and vivid force, which Mr. Bernoulli seems to insinuate in this section, (see remark on Chap. V.) and shall only take notice, that Mr. Bernoulli asserts, that each of the springs in each range contributes equally to the production of the force in the impelled bodies.

But how is this to be proved? Mr. Bernoulli has taken a great deal of pains in this same Chapter to show, that the pressure in each range is equal, when all the springs in both are bent to the same angle; how then does it appear, that the forces produced in those bodies will be anywise different, since produced by equal pressures. Mr. Bernoulli endeavours to solve this by saying in his 6th §. that if the point E in the longer range was fixed, so that the number  
of

of springs included between E and C be the same with those between B and D; then the springs between E and C would produce the same acceleration in the body L, as the springs B D equal in number would produce in an equal body P; and therefore the point E not being fixed, the remaining springs between A and E by dilating themselves will act on the point E, and produce a greater acceleration in the body L than the springs E C alone, or than the springs B D produce in P.

But this is overthrowing all the principles, that he has been establishing in the foregoing part of this chapter; for if it means any thing, it must mean, that the springs A E and E C together will act with greater force on the body L, than the springs E C alone, contrary to the whole tenor of the second and third sections.

If Mr. Bernoulli shall at any time give the true reason, why the springs A C and B D will produce different forces in the bodies L and P, which without doubt is the different times of their acting on those bodies, this will at once destroy all his hypothesis; for then the force of the body L will not be to the force of the body P, in the proportion of the number of springs A C to the number of springs B D, or in the duplicate proportion of their velocities, but in the direct proportion of their velocities, or the subduplicate of the number of springs, seeing the forces estimated from the pressures and times of their acting conjunctly must be in the same proportion with the velocities, because Mr. Bernoulli himself in §. 1. and 2. Chap. VII. has estimated the velocities from the very same principles.

Mr. Bernoulli, Chap. VIII. §. 2. says, that this opinion has been confirmed by experiments made of the cavities formed in soft substances,

such

such as clay, &c. by bodies falling with different velocities; it being always found, that the cavities formed by the same body were as the squares of the velocity it fell with; whence it has been concluded, that the force of the same body is as the square of the velocity it moves with.

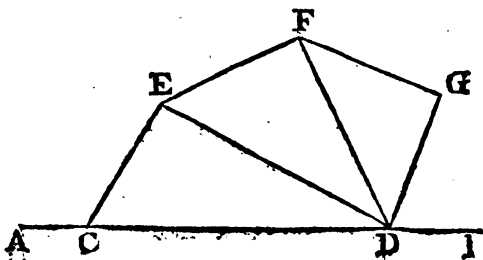
But all, that can be inferred from these experiments, is, that the resistance of such substances is equable or proportional to the time only, that they act against an immersing body; for, if the body, that forms the cavity is a cylinder, which moves in the direction of its axis, then, since Galileo has demonstrated, that the height any body will rise to, when retarded by an equable resistance like gravity, will be as the square of its velocity, it is evident that the depth such a cylinder will sink in a substance resisting equally, will be in the same proportion, and the cavity will be as that depth, since the cylinder moves in the direction of its axis. Moreover the Cavity formed by any other Body, however irregular, will be equal to the cavity formed by a cylinder of the same weight moving with the same velocity; for if you suppose the cylinder and the irregular body to form two equal nascent cavities, then the resistance of the cylinder to the resistance of the irregular body will be compounded of the proportion of the cylinder to the surface opposed to the motion of the irregular body, and the proportion of the time of the cylinders forming the cavity to the time of the irregular body's forming the cavity; now the first proportion, or that of the resisting surfaces will be the same with the proportion of the bases of the cavities; and the proportion of the times of forming each, will be in the

the same proportion with the depths of the cavities so formed, supposing their velocities equal; but as the nascent cavities formed by each, are supposed equal, the proportion compounded of these two will be a ratio of equality; consequently the cylinder in losing an evanescent part of its velocity will form a cavity equal to what an irregular body moving with the same velocity will form in losing the same evanescent degree of its velocity; therefore they will both, in losing their entire equal velocities, form equal cavities.

What Mr. Bernoulli has said, §. 4. is only a consequence of what *Huygens* has demonstrated from the other opinion, and shall be considered in another place. See Remarks on Chap. X. §. 1.

Mr. Bernoulli intitles his IXth Chapter, A general and geometrical demonstration that the quantity of the force of a body is proportional to its mass, drawn into the square of its velocity; which, he says (without insisting longer on the validity of the precedent arguments) is so general, and so very much beyond all exception, that he believes it capable of convincing the most obstinate adherers to the vulgar opinion.

This demonstration, when stripped of what is not essential to it, is thus. Suppose the motion



of any body moving in the direction  $AB$  to be represented by  $CD$ , and suppose the triangles  $CED$ ,  $EFD$  and  $FGD$  to be right-angled at the points  $E$ ,  $F$  and  $G$ , and the sides  $CE$ ,  $EF$ ,  $FG$  and  $GD$ , equal to each other; then, as the sum of all their squares is equal to the square of  $CD$ , each of those lines will be half  $CD$ ; now, by the composition of motion, the motion of the body in the direction  $AB$  with the velocity proportional to  $CD$ , is equivalent to the motion of the same body in the directions, and with velocities proportional to  $CE$ ,  $ED$ , or to the motion in the directions  $CE$ ,  $EF$ ,  $FD$ , or in the directions  $CE$ ,  $EF$ ,  $FG$ ,  $GD$ , with velocities, proportional to those respective lines; but each of those lines is half the line  $CD$ , therefore the motion in  $CD$  with any velocity, is equivalent to the motion in  $CE$ ,  $EF$ ,  $FG$ ,  $GD$ , with half the velocity in  $CD$ ; hence Mr. Bernoulli concludes, that the force of a body moving with any velocity, is equal to four times the force of the same body moving with half that velocity, or that the force of the same body is as the square of the velocity it moves with.

But this proposition, if it proves any thing, proves, that the forces of the same body moving with different velocities, are not only as the squares of the velocities, but in any assignable proportion to them; for as this proposition will hold good, whether the angles  $CED$ ,  $EFD$ , &c. are right or not, you may by varying those angles find any number of equal lines  $CE$ ,  $EF$ ,  $FG$ , &c. the motions in all which shall compound the motion in  $CD$ , a line of any given length.

Mr. Bernoulli in his Xth Chapter, §. 1. says, that the sum of the forces of any two elastic bodies remains the same after the stroke, that it was before



before. This he endeavours to prove by saying, that the augmentation of the force of the one is always the immediate effect of the diminution of the force of the other ; but this is manifestly false. For, if two elastic bodies meet each other with contrary velocities, then on their first compression it is evident, that both their forces are diminished at the same time ; and it may happen, that in restoring themselves, both their forces may be increased at the same time. As this principle is false, his deductions from it must of course be so too, and therefore his proving that the sum of the squares of the velocities of any two elastic bodies, is (when multiplied into those bodies) the same before and after the stroke, is so far from being a confirmation of his method of estimating the force of bodies, that it is a contradiction to it, and not only so, but a direct consequence of the other opinion. For it is evident from the equality of action and reaction, that the loss or increase of the force of one body in one direction, is equal to the loss or increase of the force of the other body in a contrary direction : Now if you estimate the forces so lost, by the sum or difference of the velocities of the bodies before and after the stroke drawn into the bodies themselves, according to the common opinion, then you will find, that on these principles the sum of the squares of their velocities multiplied into their masses, will be the same both before and after the stroke, as *Huygens* has demonstrated.

From this equality of the sums of the squares, &c. before and after the stroke, Mr. Bernoulli also asserts, that the same degree of motion will always be preserved in the world ; but he did not consider, that this equality holds in bodies perfectly

perfectly elastic only, and there are none such in nature ; therefore this hypothesis is false allowing all his own principles. See Chap. X. §. 5. Chap. V. §. 9, 10, &c.

In the XIth Chapter Mr. Bernoulli has solved a particular case of the general problem relating to the stroke of three elastic bodies ; which is, when one body in motion strikes at the same time two other equal bodies at rest, which are equally distant from the line of the direction of its center on each side ; and in his XIIth Chapter he extends it to the striking of one body, at the same time, against any number of pairs of bodies at rest, each pair being supposed equal, and equally distant on each side from the line of its direction. Mr. Bernoulli's method is first to solve the problem for two pair, and so by degrees extend the solution to any number. In two pair he supposes the moving body to be divided into two parts, one part of which strikes one pair, and the other part strikes the other pair ; now by computing the velocity of each of these parts after the stroke, and making an equation between them, he determines the proportion, that the body must be divided in, so that each part after the stroke shall move with the same velocity ; which common velocity, he concludes will be the same with that of the entire Body. But this will be true, only when each part takes up the same time in communicating motion to the bodies it strikes against ; for, if one part communicates the whole motion to the bodies it strikes against, sooner than the other, then the two parts would be separated, if the body was actually divided, and consequently the velocity of the body when entire, will be different from the common velocity of the parts.

Now all elastic bodies, that we have any knowledge of, will take up different times to separate in, according to the different velocity they separate with ; since it is found by experience, that their resistance to compression is uniform. However, to give that for a general solution of a problem, which may be false in infinite circumstances, and can be true but in one, is a manifest paralogism ; especially when those circumstances are neglected, as no ways necessary to the solution.

In §. 2. of the same Chapter he says, that by means of this theory, the resistance of a body moving in a fluid composed of elastic particles may be easily determined, and also the quantity of its motion, that it will lose in moving through any given space ; a new subject for a search, as useful as curious, and so much more worthy to be examined, as no body hitherto has undertaken it. But I am surprized, that Mr. Bernoulli should mention this as something yet to be done ; seeing Sir *Isaac Newton* has so amply treated this and all other parts of the doctrine of the resistance of fluids in the second book of his *Principia*.

Mr. Bernoulli in his XIVth Chapter endeavours to give the same rule for finding the center of oscillation from his theory of forces, that *Huygens*, Dr. *Taylor*, and even himself, have given from the common opinion. In order to this, in §. 4. he supposes, that the force of any body will be always the same, when it has fallen from the same height, whether it falls freely, or whether any obstacle retards its fall. If this is true, then the same body may have the same force with different velocities ; since by increasing the obstacle, that hinders its descent, you may diminish

nish its velocity in any degree assignable, still preserving the same height.

His hypothesis of the cause of elasticity is so full of inconsistencies and absurdities, that I am deterred from making any remarks on it, for I should be obliged to take notice of almost every passage. I shall therefore only mention one thing, which I think may easily excuse an ampler confutation, and that is, that Mr. Bernoulli endeavours to account for elasticity by the motion of particles, that are themselves elastic.

And now, I think, I have proved, that nothing Mr. Bernoulli has urged in defence of Mr. Leibnitz's opinion, is any way conclusive; that many parts of his discourse are contradictory; and that all his determinations of the laws of motion are wrong, since they are by him applied to bodies, which only perfectly restore themselves; whereas they are true in none but such as restore themselves in the same time they were compressed. See remark on Chap. I. §. 18.

And for a conclusion, I would desire Mr. Bernoulli to give us a true solution of the problem proposed in his XIIth Chapter; for it will very much surprize the world, that so eminent a geometer should so unaccountably mistake (as I have shown in my remarks on that chapter) in the solution of a problem, the only important one in his book, that had not been solved before.

ARTI-



## ARTICLE XXIV.

*An ABSTRACT of the Essay of Human Understanding.*

**I**T would be superfluous to add any thing to recommend the following Abstract of Mr. LOCKE's celebrated Essay on Human Understanding, after I have assured my Readers, that it was drawn up by no less a man than the late Lord Chief Baron GILBERT.

**M**EN come into the world without any idea or principle, either speculative or practical; but all our ideas arise either from sensation or reflection.

An Idea is whatsoever is perceived or thought on; and is either,

*First, Simple.*

*Secondly, Complex.*

A SIMPLE IDEA is one uniform appearance, representation or perception of the mind, without alteration or variety. Here three things are to be considered:

1<sup>st</sup>, The manner of their conveyance, or being in the mind.

2<sup>dly</sup>, The objects from without that affect the mind.

3<sup>dly</sup>, The mind itself.

1<sup>st</sup>, The manner of their conveyance into the mind; and some simple Ideas come in by Sen-

MAY 1728.

C c

fation

374      *The Present State of*      Art. 24.  
sation only, some by reflection only, some both  
by sensation and reflection.

(1.) By Sensation only : and these either by  
the sensation of one sense, as light and colour  
by the eye, sound by the ear, taste by the pa-  
late, odours by the nose ; and the Ideas of so-  
lidity and other tangible qualities, as heat, cold,  
&c. by the touch ; or of several senses, as the  
Ideas of motion and rest, space, extension and  
figure.

(2.) By Reflection only, as perception or  
thinking, volition or willing, and their several  
modes.

(3.) Simple Ideas, both by sensation and re-  
flection : and these are either pain, pleasure,  
existence, or unity.

*2dly*, Objects from without that affect the  
mind ; and they are,

1. Primary qualities of bodies, such as mo-  
tion, rest, figure, and texture, which are in  
the bodies themselves, whether perceiv'd or  
not.

2. The several dispositions in bodies to pro-  
duce several sensations in us, whence colours,  
sounds, tastes, &c. which are indeed only sen-  
sations produced in the animal by the operation  
or action of such primary qualities.

*3dly*, The Mind itself, and therein are three  
faculties.

1. Of *Perception*.

2. Of *Retention*, which is twofold.

(1.) Either the keeping the same Ideas actu-  
ally in view, which we call Contemplation.

(2.) Or reviving them when they are gone,  
which we call Memory.

3. Of *Discernment*, which contains a three-  
fold power.

1. Of

1. Of comparing the several Ideas, and on such comparison observing their resemblances, which is call'd Wit; or observing their minutest differences, which is called Judgment.

2. The power of compounding our Ideas, which is, (1.) By carrying several simple Ideas into the same representation: or, (2.) By the repetition of the same Idea, which is called Enlarging.

3. The power of Abstracting, which is the separating any Idea from the circumstances of real existence, as from time, place, and other concomitant Ideas.

*Secondly*, COMPLEX IDEAS consist of several simple Ideas united in the same representation, appearance or perception: and they either come into the mind thus united from the operation of things without us: as the Idea, solidity and figure, is caus'd by the same Ball, therefore in the complex Idea of the Ball, we conceive such Ideas as co-existent and concomitant; or else when such simple Ideas are united by the mind, as in the Idea of law, obligation, &c.

Complex Ideas are of three sorts.

I. Of Modes.

II. Substances.

III. Relations.

I. Of Modes, which are again twofold:

1<sup>st</sup>, Simple.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Mixt.

1<sup>st</sup>, Simple Modes are the several different manners under which any simple Idea may appear to the mind: and these either come in,

[1.] By Sensation only, as the several modes of space, a yard, a furlong, a mile; or set out by visible marks and boundaries, as the several

places of bodies, or the several modes of numbers, as a score, a gross, a dozen.

[2.] By Reflection only, as the several modes of thinking: which are either,

(1.) Without pain or pleasure; or,

(2.) With it.

(1.) Without pain or pleasure: And whoever observes his mind, will find a perpetual revolution of Ideas while he is awake. The stopping any of them, and considering it on all sides, we call Attention; the letting the mind run adrift, in the constant rotation of ideas and objects before us, is call'd Remission: and there are in the mind constant degrees of Attention and Remission, according to the different degrees of consideration the mind employs concerning the objects before it.

(2.) The modes of thinking with pleasure and pain, and these are called the Passions. The pleasure we find in any Idea present and absent, we call Love; the pleasure we find in the thought of any future enjoyment that we think probable to affect us, we call Hope; the pleasure we find upon the near approach of any pleasure, of whose possession we think our selves assured, we call Joy. Whatsoever does or is like to affect us with pleasure, we call Good; the thought of pain, which any thing present or absent is apt to produce in us, we call Hatred or Aversion; the uneasiness we find upon the absence of any thing that might affect us with pleasure, we call Desire; the uneasiness of mind upon a good lost, which we might have longer enjoyed, we call Sorrow; the uneasiness of mind upon thought of future pain, we call Fear; the uneasiness of mind on the thought of a good we desire, obtained by another, we call Envy;



if such good relates to the enjoyment of men and women, it is called Jealousy ; a sudden uneasiness of mind on a sudden pain produc'd in us by another, together with a certain purpose to produce pain in return, is called Anger ; if constant, and the purpose of returning pain be continuing, it is called Malice ; the uneasiness that arrives from the thought of any unattainable good, we call Despair ; whatsoever causes pain, or is likely to produce it in us, is called Bad or Evil.

[3.] Simple modes coming in by Sensation and Reflection: Hence we have the Ideas,

1<sup>st</sup>, Of Power.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Of Time.

3<sup>dly</sup>, Of Eternity.

4<sup>thly</sup>, Of Infinity.

1. The Idea of Power : which is formed from the ability that we find in our selves of stopping any Idea in the revolution of any Ideas within us ; or the power, by a thought, of moving our bodies, which is called the Will ; the power of acting, or not acting, according to such determination of a man's own thought, is called Liberty : So that liberty is the absence of all impediments that hinder acting or not acting, according to the preference of his own will. That which moves the will is uneasiness ; but such motions may be controul'd by the power we have within us of omitting any action, till we have considered its consequences, and find them either good or evil. That wherein consists innocence, is the acting or not acting, according as the judgment, upon a due and impartial consideration, doth find such act or omission to be good or evil : and the not suspending such action

till we have considered it as we might do, is called Guilt.

The Idea of power from sensation is, when there is any alteration in our simple ideas, by the action of bodies one upon another; that body, which makes the alteration, we conceive to have the power of making it, and the other a power of receiving it.

2. Of Time, which is a certain revolution of Ideas in our own mind, measur'd by the motion of things without, and chiefly by the motion of the heavenly bodies, as being more constant and equal.

3. Eternity is the repetition of such several revolutions, together with a reflection on our own power to add on, without coming to an end.

4. Infinity is the same repetition of our Ideas of space or number, with a reflection on our power to add on, without coming to an end; and such repetition of our Idea of Space, is by a peculiar name called Immensity.

2dly, Of mixt Modes, which are several distinct simple Ideas united into the same Combination by the mind, and are therefore called Notions, as a lie, obligation, law, &c. And these the mind unites for greater dispatch in the business of civil life; and therefore only considers the possible union of such simple Ideas, whether it has ever seen them so actually united or not.

II. The Ideas of Substances: and these are either,

1. Separate; or,
2. Collective.

(1.) Separate Substances, and that is the union or co-existence of several simple Ideas in one and the same place, which is all the notion we have of substance; Thus the union of the Idea  
of

of extension, solidity, figure, and a disposition to produce the idea of colour in us, is what we call *Body*. The union or co-existence of the Ideas of perception, reflecting, chusing, and self-motion, is what we call Spirit: But what are the *Substrata* of these properties and powers, are to us equally unintelligible.

(2.) The collective Ideas of substances, which is when several substances are collected into the same representation, as an army, triumph, procession, &c.

III. Of relations, which is the comparing of several Ideas, whether simple, or of modes and substances, one with the other; and considering the denominations that may arise from such comparison: for since the order of nature is such, that there is a dependence of things one upon the other, so do they convey to the mind an Idea of such dependence: and whatever notion we have from such dependence of things one on the other, or of the connection or repugnance of Ideas one to the other, gives us the Idea of relation.

All words that refer to a certain standard, either of duration or size, are relative terms, as old, young, strong, weak, &c. which relate to the usual duration or constitution of each living creature, as the standard to which we compare the thing mentioned. The most noted relations are these:

*First*, Of Cause and Effect.

*Secondly*, Identity and Diversity.

*Thirdly*, Moral Relations.

*Fourthly*, The Relations of our Ideas themselves.

*1st*, Of Cause and Effect: That which produces any simple Idea in us, we call Cause; and that which is produced, we call the Effect.

*2dly*, Of Identity and Diversity. And here the Identity of bodies arises from the Sameness of the parts, which produce the same simple Ideas in the beholder. The Identity of vegetables arises from the same organization of the parts, whether exactly consisting of the same matter or not. Identity of animals consists in the same organization of parts, and the same constant and continu'd common life; and that life consists in the same faculties and power of acting. And the identity of person, mind or spirit consists, as far as we can apprehend it, in having the same consciousness of ideas, powers, and actions.

*3dly*, Of moral Relations: The notion of which arises from our comparing our actions to a rule; and that is threefold.

1. The laws of the country.
2. The laws of opinion or reputation.
3. The law of God, which is twofold.

(1.) The law of nature, which is the rule which reason discovers to us touching the fitness or conveniency of any action.

(2.) The law reveal'd.

*4thly*, The relations of our Ideas themselves: and they relate either,

1. To the perception of our own minds; or,
2. To the things they are suppos'd to represent.
3. Of the casual relations of such Ideas one to another, obtain'd in the mind.

*1st*. Of Ideas relating to the perception of our own mind: and they are said to be either,

1. Clear; or,
2. Confus'd.

(1.) A clear Idea is that wherein the mind perceives a difference from all others.

(2.) A

(2.) A confused Idea is such as is not sufficiently distinguishable from other Ideas different from it.

2dly. Of Ideas relating to things they are supposed to represent ; and they are,

1. Real or fantastical.
2. Adequate and inadequate.
3. True and false.

(1.) Of real or fantastical Ideas. All our simple Ideas are real, being produced by the operation of things in us. Mixt modes are all real, being a combination made by the mind ; if the co-existence of such Ideas be only possible. The Ideas of Substances are real, if we have ever found such simple Ideas come into our mind so united ; if otherwise, they are fantastical.

(2.) Of adequate and inadequate Ideas. Adequate Ideas are such as perfectly represent those archetypes or patterns to which the mind refers. Inadequate Ideas are a partial and incomplete representation of such patterns. All simple Ideas are adequate. All mixt modes are adequate, because they refer to no archetypes or patterns, but only to a certain combination made by the mind : but so far they may be inadequate as they refer to a suppos'd combination, made in the minds of other persons, signify'd under the same Name. All Ideas of substances are inadequate, because they have reference to patterns, whose real essence we know not.

(3.) Of true and false Ideas. Ideas are said to be true, that are conformable to some real existence ; and false, that have no conformity to such existence any where found : and so our Ideas are said to be true, when they are conformable to the Ideas signify'd under the same name by others.

3dly,

3dly. Of casual relations of such Ideas one to another, obtain'd in the mind. And this is by custom. As the putting together of Ideas, according to their apparent or probable agreement or disagreement, is reasoning ; and the connecting repugnant Ideas, is madness : so the connecting independent Ideas by custom, which have no visible connection in themselves, is an infirmity in the mind that wants a name ; as where a Man has the imagination of an infallible man by education and custom ; these and such-like false associations of Ideas by habit and custom, make a perpetual connection between them in the mind ; so that they perpetually appear together in the same gang, and as much affect our reasonings, opinions and judgment, as if they were naturally united.

### *Of LANGUAGE.*

Men were not created to live solitary, and independently on each other, as several kinds of Brutes do, but for mutual intercourse and society ; and therefore it was not enough for nature to furnish the mind with objects from without, which are invisible in the mind, but it was also necessary that we should be furnish'd with a ready method of communicating such Ideas ; and this was by the sense of hearing, whereby we are capable of receiving several sounds, and connecting of them with the Ideas in the mind, and farther are by the tongue capable of making such sounds as signs of such Ideas : So that Language is nothing else but the connection of sounds to Ideas, in order to make the Ideas in the mind of one man understood

by another. But because several objects excite in us the same Ideas, therefore names in language are made general, to excite in the hearer such an Idea as is framed in the mind of the speaker, from whatsoever particular object such Idea was formed in the mind of the speaker ; for in connecting the sound of the Idea, the mind hath no farther consideration than of the Idea it self, as it stands in the mind of the speaker, by whatsoever thing from without it was form'd in him : And were it otherwise, it were impossible to register the particularity of things, and accommodate names to them, since scarce any man hath the same Idea from the same particular object, which another has. Besides that, if names were as particular as things, such signs would become altogether useless ; since the particularity of things are infinite, and therefore would incumber the mind with infinite names which could not be remembred, nor would be of use for intercourse and communication.

In language four things are considerable :

First, The expression of independent Ideas.

Secondly, The expression of the connection and repugnancy of Ideas.

Thirdly, The imperfections of language.

Fourthly, The abuse of it.

1st. Of the expression of independent Ideas, and that is threefold :

1. Of simple Ideas.
2. The names of mixt modes.
3. The names of substances.

(1.) Of simple Ideas, which cannot be defined or explained *per notiora*, since definition is resolving the thing to be defined into its most simple Ideas ; but complex Ideas may be defined, because they may be resolved into their simple Ideas ;

Ideas ; and simple modes may be defined, being the manner in which these simple Ideas are combined ; and therefore the mind may define such precise combination.

(2.) The names of mixt modes ; and they being arbitrarily made in the mind, for the ends of civil life, and names added to them for dispatch in conversation, we may define the particular combination of which they consist ; and being made without any relation to archetypes without, it is the name that holds together the combination.

(3.) The names of substances : and here the name stands for the precise collection of simple Ideas in the mind of the speaker, which is the nominal essence, tho' it has a relation to something without, capable of raising that precise collection of Ideas in the mind, which are the patterns or archetypes of such nominal essence ; but the real essence, which is the internal constitution of parts, on which such properties depend, is perfectly unknown, and therefore not express'd in the name.

2dly, The expression of the connection and repugnancy of Ideas ; and this is three ways.

1. By inventing words of affirmation and negation, to be signs of the expression of such connection and repugnancy.

2. By the invention of abstract and concrete terms.

The abstract term or substantive, is the sign of an Idea independent on any other.

The concrete Term or adjective, is the expression of the Idea, with the relation of its co-existence with others.

3. By the invention of particles, which are signs that connect the train of Ideas one to another, that they may be received into the mind  
of



of the hearer in the same order in which they stand in the mind of the speaker.

3dly. Of the imperfection of language. And here,

1. Of simple Ideas : and there the Connection is made between the Name and the Idea, by shewing the object which exhibits it ; and therefore here we are not very liable to mistake, since these Ideas are regularly produced from things without, and therefore the same Ideas are formed in all men, having the same organs : and there is no difference between the Archetypes and the Idea, the objects without regularly creating that Idea in the animal, to which the name is annexed.

2. The names of mixt modes are often subject to perplexity and confusion, when there is great variety in the same combination ; so that the simple Ideas, of which the name consists, cannot be remembred, and because we cannot go to archetypes to correct their mistakes about them.

3. The names of substances are liable to great imperfections, because we know not the real constitution of things ; and therefore cannot understand what precise combination of simple Ideas is co-existent, which have all the same right to be made a part of the nominal essence.

4thly. The abuse of words.

1. By using words without Ideas.

2. By varying the combination of Ideas, and keeping the same name ; by referring words to the reality of things, and not to our own Ideas ; by putting together such Ideas in our minds as united in things without us, as have not come in co-existent.

The remedy of these abuses is, by defining the precise combination of Ideas to which the name is annexed, and using the Words invariably for the same combination of Ideas.

Having thus considered our Ideas, which are the materials of our knowledge and our language, which is the manner of our conveying them to others: The last thing is to consider how our Ideas are put together, and compared one with the other. And herein,

First, Of knowledge and opinion.

Secondly, Of reason and error.

Thirdly, Of faith and enthusiasm.

First. Of knowledge. Knowledge is the comparing of two or more Ideas, and viewing their connection and agreement, repugnancy or disagreement; and it is twofold.

1. Either intuitive; or,

2. Demonstrative.

(1.) Intuitive knowledge is where the agreement or repugnancy of several Ideas appears upon view.

(2.) Demonstrative knowledge is where the agreement or repugnancy of Ideas doth not appear upon view, but by comparison with some intermediate Idea. Thus we demonstrate that all the angles of a triangle are equal to two right, by setting the triangle between parallels, and comparing the angles at the upper point of intersection with the angles of the triangle, and two right angles.

The agreement or disagreement of our Ideas, is of four sorts.

First, Of identity or diversity.

Secondly, Relation.

Thirdly, Co-existence.

Fourthly, Real existence.

2. Identity

1. Identity or diversity is known by intuition, as we know by view that one colour or magnitude is not another.

2 The Ideas of *relation* are known from view or demonstration, as in the instance before-mentioned.

3. Co-existence or non-co-existence is seldom known from the general comparison of our Ideas; for since we don't know the real substances of things, we don't know what Ideas are compatible with each other: and therefore here we have no knowledge from the general consideration of our Ideas, but from trial, observation and experience only.

4. Real existence; and here we have knowledge,  
(1.) Of our selves, by intuition or view.

(2.) Of the being of a God, by demonstration; as thus: The absence of being cannot produce being; *ergo*, something eternal. Absence of thought cannot produce thought: We think; *ergo*, there is thought without beginning. Eternal thought we call God. We begin to think; *ergo*, not from matter, where there is no thought; *ergo*, the mind created by eternal thought. And what ever could produce a being to see and feel, must be presum'd, as a less effect of his power, to produce the things felt and visible.

(3.) We have the knowledge of the being of all other things by sensation.

Having thus considered the objects of our knowledge the next things to be considered are,

First, The extent.

Secondly, The reality. And,

Thirdly, The universality of our knowledge.

1st. The extent of our knowledge; and that is,

1. No farther than we have Ideas. And,

2. No

2. No farther than we can find their agreement or disagreement, by the comparing them with intermediate Ideas, by which their agreement or disagreement may appear,

2dly, The reality of our knowledge. And tho' our knowledge be only of Ideas, yet these Ideas having relation to objects without us, it is in some measure real; for all simple modes being the product of the operation of things themselves upon our own minds, all our knowledge about them must be real knowledge. Mixt modes are intended to have relation to Ideas in our own minds, and therefore our knowledge concerning them has no other reality, but upon the supposition of the existence of such modes, conformable to our Ideas. Our knowledge of substances are so far real, as we put together Ideas co-existent in the same place, and that have come into our minds thus united: but as far as we refer them to the real internal constitution of things, so far our Ideas of substances are not real, because their constitutions are unknown to us. Truth therefore in the mind is the inward perception of the agreement or disagreement of our Ideas, together with a like perception of the past, present, or future existence of the things themselves so conjoined or separated in Nature. In this definition of truth is comprehended a twofold certainty: A certainty of knowledge, which is the perception of the agreement or disagreement of our own Ideas: A certainty of existence, which is a perception of the things themselves existing, conjoin'd or separate, as we have put them together; Truth in words is the conjoining the signs of the Ideas together, as the Ideas themselves lie in the mind of the speaker.

3dly,

3dly. Of the universality of our knowledge. In simple Ideas, where the real and nominal essence is the same, there all our knowledge is general and universal, because there is no difference in these Ideas, from whatsoever objects they are formed. In mixt modes our knowledge is general and universal: for these being combinations made by the mind, not with relation to an actual, but only a possible existence, all our knowledge concerning them is universal; since the same agreement or disagreement must happen where-ever they are found.

Our knowledge of substances, as far as relates to their real essence, is all particular, since it goes no farther than our trial and observation, which is only particular touching the bodies before us; but not knowing the real and internal constitution of things, we cannot rank them into any general sorts, or classes, under general names, and therefore we are not capable of any universal knowledge about them. For to make universal propositions, it is necessary that we should know the absolute set bounds of each particular thing that we comprehend under that general name; and that we cannot know without looking into the internal constitution of things, which in this state and condition we cannot do: But touching the nominal essence of substances, we may make universal propositions; but these are only identical and trifling, and signify no more than the several Ideas we comprehend under that name: as when we say gold is yellow, fusible, fixt, &c. That the whole is equal to all its parts taken together; as that whatsoever is, is; and that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be. These three

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last,

last, however they have got the reputation of maxims, are nothing else but identical propositions, including what we comprehend under the name of whole or being, as the other comprehends what we include in the name or term of gold; by consequence such maxims are of little use to the invention of knowledge, but may serve for conviction of such as affectedly wrangle or oppose.

Secondly, Opinion is the perception of the probable agreement or disagreement of our Ideas. Probability is where the connection or agreement, or the repugnancy or disagreement is not found from the intuition or view of the Ideas themselves, or from the intuition of any Idea to which they are compared, which by such intermediate view shews such connection or repugnancy; but such agreement or disagreement is found by observation and experience only, which could not be found from any view or juxtaposition of the Ideas themselves in our minds. Thus we know that our meat nourishes, not from any general Ideas of the internal constitution of meat, and of the animal, but because we have found it to be true from experience only. But here we must consider,

1st. The several criterions or marks of probability arising from our own experience.

2dly. From the experience of others.

1. The several criterions or marks of probability arising from our own experience.

(1.) When such experience is general and universal, we no more doubt of such truths than of those that appear from the intuition of the Ideas themselves, because such experience furnishes the mind with a constant perception of the agreement or disagreement of such Ideas, as if

if it had risen from the intuition of the Ideas themselves.

(2.) If such experience hath fail'd in single instances, then the agreement or disagreement of such Ideas is judged from the number of such instances, one way or the other, that have fallen under our experience ; for then we esteem such Ideas to agree or disagree one with the other, as we have generally found to do so : but every instance to the contrary, is the occasion of some doubt to the mind.

Hence it is, that what may seem probable to one man, or in some places, seems improbable in others, according to the difference of their observation and experience: As that water should be hard enough in winter to bear carts and horses, may seem probable in *England* and *Holland* ; but would not seem probable under the line where they were never used to such observations.

All our knowledge touching substances goes no farther than probability, because we have no Ideas of the internal constitution of such substances to compare with each other ; and therefore our reasonings; touching the co-existence or Non-co-existence of such Ideas, is founded,

1. Upon the trial and experience of such their co-existence.

2. Upon analogy ; whereby, upon the observation of the co-existence of like Ideas, we judge that where such like Ideas are found, there will follow the same Ideas, which at other times we have found consequent upon them.

3dly. The several criterions or marks of probability arising from the experience of others.

As we judge by our own experience, so also we judge by the sight, observation and experi-

ence of others; and this is called testimony. And in this eight things are considerable.

1. The number :
2. The Integrity :
3. The skill of the witnesses.
4. Their true design and intent.
5. The consistency of the parts and circumstances of the relation.
6. Contrary testimonies.
7. The consistence of what is attested with our own observation and experience. And,
8. The distance of such relators from the sight and view of the thing which they attest ; which is so far weakened as they themselves take it from others, and the thing related doth not fall under their own view or experience.

These are the criterions of probability, touching facts depending on mere human agents : but on things depending on the power of God, the seventh criterion of probability is not to be taken into our weighing and considering such facts ; because our observation and experience extends no farther than the ordinary course of nature, and not to what God almighty can do in an extraordinary manner, for the confirmation of doctrines of great importance, and which he hath thought fit to reveal.

Thirdly, Of reason, which is that faculty in men, whereby we discover the connection or repugnancy of our Ideas in themselves, or their probable connection or repugnancy one to the other.

Fourthly, Error arises from the casual association of Ideas, by habit or custom, or by education from our minority, otherwise than such Ideas are conjoined or separated in nature, or by depending blindly on the authority of others, without



without perceiving the connection of such our Ideas, or the probable connection of them ; and yet conjoining and separating them according to such authority, where there is no connection or repugnance in the Ideas themselves ; forming propositions in things of which we have no Idea, by comparison of them with the Ideas we have ; concluding without intermediate proofs, or without sufficient consideration of them.

Fifthly, Of faith. Faith is the belief of any truth coming from God the author of truth ; and this is either,

1st. By original revelation. Or,

2dly. Traditional.

1. Original revelation is the immediate delivery of truth from God almighty into the minds of men, which is done in a manner to us unconceivable ; for how God almighty may deliver himself in ways different from the common conveyance of knowledge, by sensation or reflection, is not by us to be understood, we having no other ways of knowledge ; but that it may be done, is extremely probable, from the consideration of his infinite power.

2. Traditional revelation is the belief of a truth coming from God, without immediate revelation to our selves upon the testimony of facts, which must of necessity proceed from the power of God.

(1.) Such things revealed cannot be contrary to reason, because it were absurd to suppose that God almighty should dictate one thing in the ordinary course of nature, and another by such extraordinary revelation ; nor could such a revelation be believed, since the truth of its coming from God could not be more evident, than the con-

nection or repugnance of the Ideas themselves are in their own nature.

(2.) Such revelation is of things above reason ; that is, of such things of which reason is altogether silent : for such revelation were to no purpose, if it taught nothing at all farther than what might be found by the use of our natural faculties ; tho it may inforce such things as are found to be truths by our natural faculties from Considerations which could never be found out by them ; and as far as it doth so, it is above and beyond what reason teaches.

Sixthly, Enthusiasm is an opinion that our own fancies and imaginations are revelations from God. And here,

1st. If such person cannot, by extraordinary effects coming from God, give credit to such pretended revelations, all men are left at liberty whether they will believe him or not.

2dly. If such revelation be contrary to reason, or contrary to former revelations, attested by facts coming from God, such revelation cannot be from God, because God cannot be the author of contradictions.

3dly. If such pretended revelation contain nothing more than what reason teaches, or what has been already taught by a former revelation, attested by the divine power, then such revelation cannot be from God, unless it be attested by facts flowing from the same power : since we cannot suppose that to be done by God in a worse and less evident manner, which hath been done in a better and more apparent manner already.



## ARTICLE XXV.

**M. ANNÆI LUCANI** Cordubensis *Pharsalia*; five *Belli civilis Libri decem*: Cum *Scholiaste*, hucusque inedito, & *Notis integris Henrici Glareani, Jacobi Micylli, Joachimi Camerarii, Hugonis Grotii, &c. & Excerptis Omniboni Vincentini, Joannis Sulpitii Verulani, Jodoci Badii Ascensii, Lamberti Hortensii, Gregorii Bersmanni, Theodori Pulmanni, aliorumque. Necnon Thomæ Maii Supplementis, & Apologia Jacobi Palmerii Gretemesnilii, Mosantii Brissonii, ac Gr. Bersmanni, & ineditis Fr. Guyeti, aliorumque Observationibus. Curante Francisco Oudendorpio, qui suas Adnotationes & copiosos Indices adjecit. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Samuelem Luchtmans. 1728.*

That is,

**LUCAN's Pharsalia.** *An Heroic Poem upon the Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey.*

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pey. pagg. 966. in 4to. besides the Prefaces and Indices.

**A**S the revival of Arts and Sciences in the West begun with an application to the Greek and Latin languages, so they have ever since advanced in proportion to our acquaintance with the ancient authors that wrote in them, and flourish most remarkably in those nations that are the greatest admirers of them. This observation will justify those great men, who have thought it worth their while to comment upon them, and is a sufficient reason for applying to them the advice which Horace gives concerning the Greek writers :

*Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*

But among them all, none better deserves the praise and esteem of an Englishman than Lucan, who durst so generously assert the Cause of Liberty, in his *Pharsalia*, even while its greatest enemy was upon the throne, and in the prime of his youth sell a sacrifice for endeavouring to maintain it. 'Twas this, among its other beauties, that recommended the *Pharsalia* to the general approbation of the Romans, degenerated as they were, and notwithstanding the efforts of some ill-natured Criticks to run it down; as Martial speaking of the Author of it tells us :

*Sunt quidam qui me dicunt non esse Poetam ;  
At qui me vendit Bibliopola putat.*

Which can have no other meaning, than that the ancient like the modern Booksellers, very  
natu-

naturally judged of the worth of the Poem, by the money it brought them, and the great demand there was for it; tho' some late Criticks of the same stamp with the former, have given this epigram another turn, in prejudice both to Lucan's merit, and Martial's wit. I would not be hereby thought to prefer, or even to compare Lucan to Homer or Virgil, as a Poet. I am not at all disposed to engage in so critical a war upon that score, though I might defend my self by the authority of not a few great men, who have ventur'd to point out some beauties, in which the *Pharsalia* excels both the *Iliad* and *Æneid*. That it may not be fancied I say this without book, I shall take notice of one instance, and that is, the different behaviour of Cæsar and Æneas in a storm. The courage of the former rises with the tempest; he is perfectly sedate and unconcerned at the storm, and when the Master is frightened out of his wits;

*Sperne minas, inquit, pelagi, ventoque furenti  
Trade finum, &c.*

Æneas, on the contrary, is represented weeping, and bewailing himself in the greatest confusion and despair, though he had been assured by the gods that he should one day found an Empire in Italy.

*Extemplo Æneæ solvuntur frigore membra;  
Ingemit & duplices tendens ad sidera palmas, &c.*

' Seized as he is, says St. Evremont, with this  
' chillness through all his limbs, the first sign of  
' life we find in him is his groaning. He goes  
on rallying poor Æneas, and at last concludes,  
that

‘ that he would have made a better founder of an  
 ‘ order of Monks than of a State ; for tho’ he was  
 ‘ but a sorry hero in Paganism, he would have  
 ‘ made an excellent saint among some Christians.  
 This Critic is perhaps too severe ; however, it  
 must be owned that Cæsar makes a much bet-  
 ter figure than Æneas upon this occasion ; and  
 it would have cost Virgil no more than it did  
 Lucan to give his hero as much courage. I do  
 not know whether I shall be pardoned if I add,  
 that Homer makes Achilles behave very pitiful-  
 ly, when he sets him a blubbering and crying to  
 his mamma for the loss of Briseis, and makes  
 him, like a froward child, refuse to keep com-  
 pany with, or speak to any body. II. L. I.  
 v. 348. *αὐτὰρ Ἀχλλεύς*  
*Δακρύσας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄραρ ἔζετο νόσφι Λιανίδης.*

But I cannot forbear laughing when Thetis  
 strokes his head and cries, Poor fellow ! did  
 they vex him ? Iliad. L. I. v. 361.

*Χαίε τί μιν κατέρειξεν, ἔπει τ’ ἔρατ’, ἐκ τ’ ὀνόμαζε,  
 Τέκνον, τί κλαίεις ; τί δέ σε φρένας ἔκταν πύθου.*

Homer and Virgil were certainly divine Poets,  
 but these are faults, and who can stop the mouths  
 of Critics, who, as a learned modern † says,  
 seem to live only on the excrements of authors ?  
 I must not here omit an error of Dr. Well-  
 wood’s, who says that Montaigne prefers Lucan’s  
 character of Cato to Virgil’s, or any other of  
 the antient Poets : for he says just the contrary ‡.  
 Virgil’s, in his opinion, is so vastly before Lu-  
 can’s, or any other Poet’s character of Cato,  
 that no human genius will ever be able to fill up  
 the interval. You have it in this line :

† Dr. Wellwood. Pref. to Row’s Lucan.

‡ Mont. Ess. B. I. Ch. 36.

*Secretosq; pios, his dantem jura Catonem.*

Lucan says,

— *Quis justius induit arma  
Scire nefas ; magno se judice quisque tuetur :  
Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*

But there are two Remarks to be made upon what Montaigne says, 1. That these two characters cannot be compared ; because Virgil undoubtedly speaks of Cato the Censor, as Servius and others upon the place have shown, whereas Lucan means Cato of Utica. 2. That some instead of commending this admired passage of Lucan, blame him as if he doubted which he should prefer, Cato or the Gods. But will not Lucan appear excusable, if we consider that the Stoics, of whose Sect he was, made their wise man at least equal to the Gods ? However, this is not the only place in which he is censured as speaking profanely and disrespectfully of the Gods \*. For we find in B. 3. l. 416. *tantum terroribus addit, Quos timeant non nosce Deos.* And l. 448. *Multos servat fortuna nocentes : Et tantum miseris irasci Numina possunt.* But as to the first, he only means that had the Massilians known what ridiculous gods they worshipped, they would not have been so much afraid of them. For so he describes them, l. 402.

*Hunc [lucum] non ruricolae Panes, nemorumq; po-  
[tentes]  
Silvani, Nymphaeq; tenent, sed barbara ritu  
Sacra Düm, struæ diris altaribus aræ,  
Omnis Et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.*

\* Bayle's Dict.

And l. 412. — *Simulacraq; mœsta deorum  
Arte carent, cœsisq; exstant informia truncis,  
Ipse fitus, putriq; facit jam robore pallor  
Adtonitos : non vulgatis sacrata figuris  
Numina sic metuunt : tantum terroribus addit  
Quos timeant non nosce deos.*

A good Catholic would not be puzzled to justify this passage of Lucan ; for in the worst sense it means no more than that ignorance is the mother of devotion, and in that maxim the priests of Rome agree with those of Marseilles. As to the other passage, the sense commonly given to it is so contrary to the principles of the Stoics, and to those which Lucan himself expresses in other parts of this poem, that it is strange none of the Commentators have taken notice of it. I chuse to read it with a point of interrogation. — *Multos servat fortuna nocentes : Et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt ?* Must every man be unfortunate with whom the gods are displeased ? No, no ; fortune favours many an impious villain. He seems here to aim at the great dispute between the Epicureans and Stoics, and the argument which has from age to age been made use of by the former against Providence. But to return :

Whatever judgment we pass upon Lucan, compared with Homer and Virgil, it must still be owned that he deserves upon many accounts to be ranked among the good Poets, though he has been unjustly struck out of the list by several Critics, particularly by the censorious Scaligers ; one of whom snarlingly said, he seemed to bark rather than sing ; and the other would not allow him even the lowest form in the temple

ple



ple of the Muses. They seem to have forgot their master Horace's maxim,

—*Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis  
Offendor maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,  
Aut humana parum cavit natura.*—

The compass and design of this Paper will not allow me to enter particularly into his merit, if I were capable of doing it. I shall therefore recommend the reader to Sulpitius Verulanus his dedication to Cardinal Palavicini, which he will find prefixed to this edition, and Dr. Wellwood's preface to Mr. Rowe's translation of the *Pharsalia*; contenting myself here with copying out one passage, not only because it is perhaps the most beautiful in Lucan, or any other Poet, but also because it relates to the subject I touched upon above; I mean Lucan's manner of talking of the gods. When Cato in his march through the desarts of Lybia comes to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Labienus advising him to consult that famous oracle about the event of the war, says:

*Nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturus,  
Dicturosque magis, quam sancto, vera, Catoni?*

Cato's answer is truly worthy of himself and the gods.

*Quid queri, Labiene, jubes? an liber in armis  
Occubuisse velim potius quam regna videre?  
An sit vita nihil, sed longa? an differat ætas?  
An noceat vis ulla bono? Fortunaque perdat  
Oppositâ virtute minas? laudandaque; velle  
Sit satis, Et nunquam successu crescat honestum?  
Scimus, Et hæc nobis non altius inseret Hammon.*

Here-

*Hæremus cuncti superis, temploq; tacente,  
 Nil facimus non sponte Dei : nec vocibus ullis  
 Numen eget ; dixitq; semel nascentibus auctor,  
 Quicquid scire licet. Sterilesne elegit bareñas,  
 Ut caneret paucis, merfitq; hoc pulvere verum ?  
 Estne Dei sedes, nisi terra, & pontus, & aer,  
 Et cælum, & virtus ? Superos quid quærimus ultra ?  
 Jupiter est quodcumq; vides, quocumq; moveris.  
 Sortilegis egeant dubii, semperque futuris  
 Casibus ancipites : me non oracula certum,  
 Sed mors certa facit : pavidò fortiq; cadendam est.  
 Hoc satis est dixisse Jovem.*

‘ Here, says St. Evremont, every thing is poetical, every thing is consonant to truth and reason. It is not poetical upon the score of any ridiculous fiction, or extravagant hyperbole, but for the daring greatness and majesty of the language, and for the noble elevation of the discourse. ’Tis thus, adds he, that Poetry is the language of the gods, and that Poets are wise ; and ’tis so much the greater wonder to find it in Lucan, that it is neither to be met with in Homer nor in Virgil.

Lucan was of an ancient Equestrian family. He was indeed born at Cordova in Spain, but brought to Rome when only eight months old, where he was educated under the direction of his uncle Seneca, with a care suitable to his birth, great fortune, and promising genius. His accomplishments soon recommended him to Nero’s favour, in which he continued very high till he imprudently disputed the prize of Poetry with that Emperor, and unfortunately for himself carried it. For Nero was as great a tyrant over the Republick of Letters, as over that of

Rome. After this Lucan looking upon him as the enemy of his country as well as his own, joined in a conspiracy against him, but was betrayed, and sentenced to death ; the manner of which being left to his own choice, he supped chearfully with his friends, and then going into a hot bath, ordered the veins of his legs and arms to be opened, and so expired in the 27th year of his age with the utmost tranquillity and composure of mind, repeating those lines in B. 9. l. 811. of his *Pharsalia*.

*Sanguis erant lacrymæ ; quæcumq; foramina novit  
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor : ora redundant,  
Et patulæ nares ; sudor rubet ; omnia plenis  
Membra fluunt venis ; totum est pro vulnere corpus.*

Had he been born in such an age as that of Augustus, or had he lived longer to give the finishing strokes to this Poem, of which we have now but the first rough draught, and that too imperfect, it would no doubt have appeared to much better advantage. *Emendaturus si licuisset erat.*

But such as it is, many great men have highly esteemed it, and thought it worthy their time and pains to illustrate. Mr. Oudendorp, in this edition, has given us a collection of the most valuable Comments upon it, with an old Scholiast that was never before published, though frequently mentioned. He has also given us some notes of the learned Fr. Guyet upon this Author, that never appeared till now ; which two particulars, with the useful and copious Indices

dices, will no doubt recommend this edition to the curious. The *Variorums* are certainly a great help to the understanding of the Classics, when digested by a judicious Collector ; but as they are generally managed, they swell the smallest pocket-volume to such an enormous size, that a man may read almost the whole Classics over, before he can get through one *Variorum* : besides that he is often so bewilder'd and lost among the notes, that he does not know where to find the sense of his author. They are however very convenient, and save charges to those who must have all the Commentators, good or bad, at any rate : but they and the booksellers are for the most part the only persons that either get, or save by them. I would have all this understood, however, without any prejudice to Mr. Oudendorp's edition, or to my very good friends the booksellers.

Among those that have illustrated Lucan, it would be unjust to forget Mr. Rowe's fine translation, and useful notes. Lucan has a great many native charms ; but he owes a great many more to the becoming dress in which that Gentleman has put him. Fired with that noble spirit of liberty which reigns in the *Pharsalia* and in *Tamerlane*, he has always equalled, often out-done his original.

Since I have mentioned this translation, I must take notice of another mistake of Dr. Wellwood's in his Preface to it ; where he says that May in English, and Brebeuf in French, are the only Persons that have translated Lucan in verse. For before May's, Arthur Gorges published a translation of the *Pharsalia* in English verse at London, 1614, in 4to. And Ludovicus à Seckendorf translated it into German  
blank

blank verse, which after the Author's death was printed at Leipfick 1695, in 8vo. Gaddius says also that it was translated into Italian verse by Albertus Campana, and Joannes Maria; but it seems neither of these translations were ever printed. Brebeuf's is reckon'd to be so exceedingly well done, that some have even preferred it to the original, and called it \* *Lucano ipso Lucanior*. However, Dr. Wellwood observes it is not without its faults, of which he has given some instances in the abovementioned Preface. May, besides his translation of the *Pharsalia*, composed a supplement to it in seven books, and in pretty good Latin verses, which Mr. Ouden-dorp has published in this edition. He carries on the Poem, which Lucan left imperfect; to Cæsar's death.

Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to the reader, to see here a list of some of the best editions of the *Pharsalia*.

The first was at Rome in 1469. It was afterwards printed at Parma 1483 in fol. At Venice with a Commentary, by Jo. Sulpicius and Omnibonus Leonicensus, in 1495 and 1505 in fol. At the same place by Aldus, 1502 and 1513, in 8vo. At Lyons by Gryphius 1542 in 8vo, and 1547 in 12°. At Paris by Stephanus 1545, in 8vo. At Antwerp by Plantin, in 12°.

We every day expect to be favoured with a new edition of this Author, and large notes by the learned Cortius: 'tis true, he is accused of false quantity in some of the corrections he made in his little edition; but that is a small fault now-a-days, when most emendations are *ex conjectura*, that is, *mere guess-work*.

\* Vignol. Marvil. T. I. Misc. hist. lit. p. 25.

MAY 1728.

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ARTI-



## ARTICLE XXVI.

**LES POESIES d' HORACE**, disposees suivant l'ordre Chronologique, & traduites en François : avec des Remarques & des Dissertations critiques. Par le R. P. Sanadon, de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Paris, chez Chaubert.

That is,

*A Translation of HORACE, with Notes* 1728. in two Volumes 4to. pagg. in the 1st Vol. 770, in the 2d 850.

**T**O give a new translation of Horace, with new notes, is an attempt of a very delicate nature, and of great consequence to the reputation of a writer : *Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ* ; so Mr. Creech found it. As his Poems always have been, and always will be the delight of those who pretend to any taste in polite Literature, they have exercised the wits and the pens of more learned men than the works of any other ancient ; so that one would think there remained little more to be said on this subject. But perhaps those who read F. Sanadon's

Sanadon's translation and remarks, will be of another opinion.

All that is necessary, says F. Sanadon in his Preface, for the understanding of an author, is 1. to translate the text ; 2. to illustrate it by notes ; 3. to give an exact Index of words and phrases. Without entering into an examination of the translations or notes of others, he proceeds to give this account of his own. " The translation of a Poet, says he, is attended with peculiar difficulties. Some are of opinion that verse ought to be translated only into verse, and cannot be turned into prose, though ever so good, without losing a great deal of its force and beauty : that a Poet, if you leave him only his sentiments, destitute of the harmony and fire of verse, is no longer a poet, but the carcass of one ; and that all our *faithful* translations of poetry in prose, are on the contrary very unfaithful, because the author is so disfigured and mangled in them, that he is not to be known. How specious soever these arguments may appear, they are far from being solid. The essential fidelity of a translator consists in preserving the character and genius of his author, to set his sentiments in a full and clear light, without omitting one necessary or important word : in short, in retaining all his features, colouring and value, and giving him such graces and beauties in a modern language, as may be equivalent to those which are peculiar to his own. Thus a translation of a Poet into prose will be as perfect, as it is possible it should be with respect to its *fidelity*.

As to the *harmony* of verse, F. Sanadon owns  
 “ that it adds no small grace to a translation :  
 “ but, says he, besides that it is only a circum-  
 “ stance in a translation, I am persuaded it is not  
 “ impossible to introduce harmony even into  
 “ prose, by giving it all the beauties which the  
 “ language of the Muses can furnish. ’Tis a ju-  
 “ dicious remark which has been made from Ari-  
 “ stotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Strabo,  
 “ that Epic poetry is independent of versifica-  
 “ tion ; and that as one may make verses with-  
 “ out being a poet, so one may be a poet with-  
 “ out making verses. The essence of Po-  
 “ etry, says the Author of a Discourse upon  
 “ Epic, is not the fixed number and regular  
 “ cadence of the syllables, but the vivacity of  
 “ the fiction, the magnificence of the figures,  
 “ the boldness of the inversions, the beauty  
 “ and variety of the images ; ’tis that enthusi-  
 “ asm, that fire, that impetuosity and force,  
 “ and I do not know what turn of thoughts  
 “ and expressions which nature alone can give.  
 “ Now all these may meet in a prose transla-  
 “ tion ; whereas by translating into verse, it is  
 “ difficult to avoid frequently sacrificing to me-  
 “ tre what is essential to poetry, by changing  
 “ the thoughts and expressions of the author,  
 “ in order to preserve the cadence or the  
 “ rhyme. ’Tis therefore out of choice and  
 “ taste, says our Translator, that I have made  
 “ use of a poetical prose in translating Ho-  
 “ race’s Odes ; because I thought such an one  
 “ only capable of preserving to my Author all  
 “ those riches of poetry, which in a peculiar  
 “ manner exalt the character of this part of  
 “ his works ; and I have reserved ordinary  
 “ prose for the satyrs and epistles, which have  
 “ nothing



“ nothing of poetry in them, but what is least  
 “ essential to it, I mean the versification.

The judicious reader cannot I dare say but approve of this plan; and in my opinion F. Sanadon has executed this part of his design with much better success than any of those that have gone before him; whose translations are generally in one uniform style, without any regard to the difference of subjects, even that vast one between the odes, and the satyrs and epistles; and such a translation may indeed be properly enough called the *Carcass of Horace*; for in them he is quite cold dead, but in F. Sanadon alone he seems to be alive. The *Ode* requires in a translation, as in the original, expressions sometimes grand and sublime, sometimes pleasant and humorous, sometimes simple and natural, always pure and elegant, never low and mean. The *Satyre* demands a more uniform, smooth, easy, flowing style. It ought to be animated and supported, not by swelling expressions or bold figures, but by a natural, brisk, lively turn. F. Sanadon seems to me to be very happy in accommodating his translation to these several styles which are so beautiful in Horace.

The next advantage of this edition, which F. Sanadon mentions in his preface, is the new order in which he has placed Horace's Poems, which he pretends adds very much to their symmetry and beauty. Horace, he tells us, being a very modest man, was averse to the publishing of his Works; three books of Lyric Poems were in a manner forced from him by the solicitations of Mécenas, and some other friends; long after, Augustus pressed him to publish the pieces he had composed since the former; which he did, and so added a fourth

book to the preceding ones ; that Emperor some time after desired another collection of the Odes, Epistles, and Satyrs which were not yet public, which he accordingly made. Besides these, several other pieces being found among his writings, and in the hands of his friends after his death, every one as they met with them inserted them among the rest. Two or three centuries after, the grammarians from these several copies made a new distribution of the poems and books, without regard to order, or any other distinction than that between the Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles ; and this distribution made at first without any critical reasons and at random has continued ever since. F. Sanadon has now endeavoured to restore them as near as possible to that order in which they were composed ; from whence he proposes a double pleasure and advantage to the reader, who by this means will not only see how Horace improved in his art, but also have a continued and faithful history of the reign of the first Emperor of Rome, written by a contemporary Author, and adorned with all the charms of Poetry. But this is not all ; F. Sanadon has taken greater liberties still. He gives new titles and new arguments to most of the Poems ; he throws aside the general one of Odes and Epodes, as introduced long after Horace's time ; he sometimes divides one into two, and sometimes joins two or three into one ; he strikes out some verses which he thinks falsely attributed to his Author, and changes the situation of others ; and lastly, he follows the orthography of ancient monuments and inscriptions : for all which he endeavours to give particular reasons, as occasion offers ; but in general he thinks the prodigious variety that we find in

in the MSS. both as to the order and number of the Poems, a sufficient authority for the alterations he has made in these two respects. I shall mention but one instance: the title of *Carmen Sæculare* has hitherto been given only to the Ode *Phæbe Sylvarum*, &c. But F. Sanadon pretends that it consisted of three Cantos, of which the former part of *Dive, quem Proles* is the first, *Dianam teneræ* the second, *Phæbe sylvarum* the third, and the latter part of *Dive, quem proles* beginning at *Spiritum Phæbus* is the Epilogue; the Prologue he makes the stanza *Odi profanum*, which for that reason he separates from the Ode to which it is commonly joined, but evidently without any connection imaginable. The *Carmen Sæculare* was sung, as Zosi-mus tells us, by thrice three times three, *i. e.* 27 boys, and as many girls of noble families, whose parents were yet alive; and accordingly F. Sanadon has made it a kind of *Duett*, or song of two parts, some verses being first sung by the boys, then others by the girls, and sometimes both chorus's joining in one. I must own I think it appears by this means with much greater advantage and beauty than hitherto. However, I cannot but think F. Sanadon a little out in supposing *Spiritum Phæbus* to be the Epilogue of this admirable piece of Poetry; since Horace therein addressing himself to the Chorus's, who were to sing the *Carmen Sæculare*, desires them,

*Lesbium servare pedem, meiq;  
Pollicis ictum,  
Rite Latonæ puerum canentes, &c.*

which cannot without a palpable absurdity be made part of an Epilogue; whereas it comes in

most beautifully and naturally after the Stanza, *Odi profanum* : unless you will place the first part of *Dive quem proles* between them, which I do not take to have been sung by the Chorus's, but to be the Poet's invocation of Apollo to assist him and protect this Poem, to have been employed in the composing of which by Augustus he thinks his greatest honour, calling it *Dania Decus Camænae*, the sense of which this Father does not seem to have taken. These alterations F. Sanadon owns ; but he dissembles some omissions he has been guilty of, and which perhaps he will not find it so easy to justify to a great many of his readers: for in short, he has actually castrated poor Horace, and robbed him of every thing that has the least relation to gallantry, even so far as to leave out whole Odes. But some alterations of the same nature are more unpardonable than any omission whatsoever can be. I shall name but one. Horace says,

*Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli  
Causa.*

Sanadon says,

*Nam fuit ante Helenam mulier teterrima belli  
Causa.*

I take the first line to be a stroke of the keenest satyr that ever Horace wrote ; but Sanadon has entirely taken off its edge. For why, I pray, may not a woman be the cause of a dreadful war, as well as a man ? or why should a woman in general be called *TETERRIMA causa belli* ? But that whole nations should squabble, and knock out one another's brains for a *Cun-nus* ; that indeed is ridiculous to the last degree, and may justly be called *teterrima causa belli*. If

F. Sana-

F. Sanadon had any averſion to a *Cummuſ*, he might at leaſt have imitated the moſt author of the *Profund*, and have left an *Hiatus magnus* in its place.

As to the Notes, F. Sanadon's chief care has been to illuſtrate the ſenſe of his Author, and to point out all his beauties and his faults, eſpecially in the Odes. Such remarks are undoubtedly of greater uſe than whole pages ſtuffed with long and often impertinent quotations. However, he has alſo added ſeveral hiſtorical, chronological, and geographical notes, and examined the text carefully; and though it is not to be expected that all the learned ſhould approve of his Criticiſms, yet ſhould they differ from him, he has a right to be treated with the ſame candor and modeſty that he has ſhown to others.

My ingenious friend Mr. George Waddel having been ſo good as to communicate to me ſeveral valuable remarks on his favourite Author, I cannot let ſlip this opportunity of making one or two of them publick, in hopes they will be no leſs agreeable to all that love Horace than they were to me. In the 5th Sat. of the 1ſt book, v. 6. the editions have

*Hoc iter ignavi diviſimus, altius ac nos,  
Præcinctis unum: minus eſt gravis Appia tardis,*

The Poet is giving a reaſon why he and his ſlow companions made two days journey of what to more expeditious travellers was but one. The ſenſe therefore plainly requires *nimis* inſtead of *minus*, and ſo Mr. Waddel found it in a MS. in the Vatican.

To

To confirm Mr. Waddel's correction, I add that it is justified by Strabo, who tells us that Appius having built this causeway cross the *Palus Pomptina*, Augustus dug a canal along the side of it from *Appii Forum* to *Feronia*; so that those who travelled this road from Rome generally quitted the pavement and took water at *Appii Forum*, as we see Horace did. Hence it appears to me, that by the *Via Appia* he means only that part of it which people commonly travelled before they took water, and that the passage is to be rendered thus: *We lazy fellows made two days journey of this. To better travellers indeed it would have been but one; but the Appian causeway is too much in one day for people that love their ease.* There can no sense be put upon *minus gravis* that will not agree to any of the great roads about Rome, as well as to the *Via Appia*; and besides, the best that can be put upon it will be very flat.

In the third Satyr of the second Book, the Poet in order to prove that it was real madness in Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia, says, that 'if a man should carry a favourite  
' she lamb about with him in his chair, dress it  
' up with fine cloths and jewels, provide maids  
' to wait upon it, give it the name of a young  
' lady, and in short caress it in every respect as  
' his daughter, the Prætor would justly find him  
' mad, and put his relations in possession of his  
' estate: and is he less so, who devotes and sa-  
' crifices his daughter instead of a lamb? By no  
' means. And adds, v. 220.

——— *Ergo ubi prava est*

*Stultitia, hic summa est insania.*

Which Mr. Waddel thinks would run much better, and more coherently thus:

——— *Ergo ibi parva est*

*Stultitia, hic summa est insania.*

For

For besides that *ubi est, hic est* do not seem to answer well to one another, there is a natural and beautiful opposition between the *parva stultitia* of the one, and the *summa insania* of the other. Consequently, says he, *if such a man would be found NON COMPOS by any Court for this trifling piece of harmless folly, you must be brought in stark mad.* And he adds the reason, *For he whose folly is outrageous is to be looked upon as distracted.* 'Tis true, the common reading may be defended by what follows :

*qui sceleratus  
Et furiosus erit.*

But then it would be better Latin, if *hic* were changed into *hæc*. *Ubi stultitia est prava, hæc (stultitia) est summa insania ; Et qui sceleratus, idem Et furiosus erit.* However I cannot help being of Mr. Waddel's mind.

As F. Sanadon has taken great liberties with his Author, I hope I may pass uncensured if I propose one conjecture of my own. It was occasioned long ago by the first appearance of Mr. Cunningham's edition, in which, Lib. III. Od. 5. v. 37. he reads

*Hic, unde vitam sumeret aptius,  
Pacem duello miscuit.*

So also Dr. Bentley's and Landini's editions have it ; but the common reading for *aptius* is *inscius*. In my opinion both these words are too faint in this place, and the variation of the MSS. of which some have *aptius*, some *inscius*, gives room to believe that both of them may have been mistaken for some other word. That  
I think

I think can be no other than *anscius*, from *am* and *scio*, as *anceps* from *am* and *cipio* : for tho' some derive it from *angor*, it is evident it cannot come from thence ; for then it must have been *anxus* not *anxius*, as it was latterly written for *anscius*. This word, as it may probably have given occasion both for *aptius* and *inscius*, is much stronger, and more proper in this place than either of them.

*Hic, unde vitam sumeret anscius,  
Pacem duello miscuit.*

I find a great many Commentators are exceedingly puzzled with the four first lines of Horace's Poem *de Arte Poetica*. Some Critics seem to be so fond of showing their talents at emendations, that the clearest and most beautiful passages cannot escape the dash of their profane pens. Those who pretend to correct this passage, and among the rest F. Sanadon, will have us believe that *humanum caput* signifies naturally and only a man's head, not an human head in general, notwithstanding the authority of all the best writers to the contrary, who use it so frequently, if not always, in this general sense, that it would be ridiculous to offer a proof of it to any one that pretends to understand the elegance of the Roman language. Every one knows that even *Homo* is used to express a woman by Plautus, Terence, and Sulpitius in a letter to Cicero upon the death of his daughter Tullia. In the next place F. Sanadon asserts, that the terms *supernè* and *infernè* are consecrated to signify each exactly one half of a man's body. But he is so far from having any authority to support this, that I do not believe the



the word *infernè* is so much as to be found in any of the Classics, except once in Pliny, and then not in this sense. Upon these two arguments he founds the alteration he makes in the third line, where instead of *ut* he has inserted *aut* into the text, and so makes Horace speak of two pictures, tho' he himself tells us in the sixth line he meant but one :

*Credite, Pisones, isti tabulæ fore librum  
Persimilem.*

In his Preface he acquaints us with another conjecture concerning the same passage by F. Folard, who changes *desinat* in the 4th line into *desinit*, and explains *ut* in the 3d by *velut*, *sicut*, and is very angry with the stupidity and ignorance of the transcribers, who taking *ut* in another sense, changed *desinit* into *desinat*. But these corrections are all nothing to the purpose. Horace is here making one ridiculous and unnatural picture out of all the poetical monsters, *undique collatis membris* ; particularly the *Centaurs*, the *Harpies*, the *Syrens* and *Chimæra*. Any one of these singly could not be more absurd in a picture, than they were in the best Poets, Homer, Ovid and Virgil ; in whom nevertheless we do not find they were disapproved. Horace himself frequently alludes to them, without any mark of dislike. And even the goddess Venus was often represented like a Syren. But Horace describes one picture made out of all these together, as ridiculous in the highest degree.

I shall take notice only of one correction more, which F. Sanadon has rashly received into

to the text. In Lib. III. Od. 14. ver. 5. the common reading is,

*Unico gaudens mulier marito,  
Prodeat castis operata Divis, &c.*

By *mulier* is here meant Livia, the wife of Augustus. He took her away from Tiberius Nero, to whom she had born one child, and was then six months gone with another. Some Criticks, for this reason think *unico gaudens marito* sounds like a sneer upon her, and therefore change *unico* into *unicæ*. Mr. Cuninghame was the first that made this correction, about seven years ago, in a book that every scholar has read, or ought to read; and yet Mr. La Motte published it as his own, in the *New Memoirs of Literature* for November last. But there does not seem to be the least necessity for an alteration. *Unico marito* can with no propriety be translated *one Husband only*. In this sense we may say *filius unicus*, *solatium unicum*, and apply the word to any thing of which one may possess two at a time: but I do not think it can be applied to any other; as for example, *mulier gaudens unico naso*; and *unico marito*, in a country where people never have but one, are both equally improper. Besides, this sense of the word is altogether impertinent here; Horace is not complimenting Livia, but Augustus: and therefore *unico* is to be understood in its metaphorical, most elegant, and poetical sense, for *eximio*, *egregio*, as Augustus was then returning in triumph from Spain, covered with glory, and crowned with a laurel, which most people believed *morte venalem*, would have cost him his life. In the same sense, and for the same reasons, he gives him, ver. 7. the title

tle of *clarus dux*. Well therefore might he call Livia *unico gaudens mulier marito*, since none of the Roman Ladies could boast of a Husband that did her so much honour. But if *unico* could be here understood in the sense of *one only*, it would not imply any reflection upon Livia. The Roman wives were much more in the disposal of their husbands than the English Ladies are, and Tiberius freely gave her to Augustus. And this was so far from being a reproach to any of the three, that it was a very common thing in Rome. Even Cato of Utica, at the request of his friend and admirer Hortensius, publicly assigned over to him his wife Martia, at the very time that she was big with child by him, her father Philip being present at and consenting to the match. And Plutarch, who relates the story, thinks such a communication of wives not only justifiable, but very agreeable to nature, and for the good of society, as it tends to the spreading of alliances, and uniting several families together: and if the matter was to be carried by the majority of votes, I do not know but the practice might be revived again over the greatest part of Europe. Add to this the known custom of the Spartans, who frequently lent out their wives to their friends, to get children upon, and afterwards took them home again without the least scruple. So that nothing is more injudicious, than to censure any particular piece of conduct in an Ancient, because it is not agreeable to the manners of the age we live in, and upon that pretence to alter any passage in the classical authors; who have indeed suffered a great deal from ignorant Transcribers, but much more from the impertinence of Pedants.



## ARTICLE XXVII.

*A Character of HORACE, in a Letter to a Friend : with a Paraphrase of the Ode Otium Divos. By the late ingenious John Hughes, Esq;.*

**T**HOUGH I have been so long upon Horace in the last Article, yet I am persuaded I shall need no apology to any of my Readers for presenting them here with this Letter and Paraphrase, which will sufficiently recommend themselves to all good Judges.

S I R,

**I** Am sorry I could not wait on you yesterday as I intended ; when I see you next, you shall know the reason. In the mean time I send this to beg your pardon, and have inclosed what I spoke to you of. That incomparable Ode which Horace has address'd to his friend Grosphus, I have chosen to present to one of the best of my friends, in as good an English dress as I am capable of giving it. The original is one of those pieces in which Horace has shewn himself so great a master of human life, and given us at once a view of his good sense and good humour. And this address is usual to him ; for in the gravest of his Odes he does  
not

not seem to make his remarks on life like a pendant to make you out of love with it, or to fright you from pleasure, but to invite you to the true enjoyment of it: and thus far he was certainly in the right, though in the choice of his pleasures he was often irregular. In this, as well as in all other respects, his moral Odes infinitely exceed the Chorus's in Seneca's tragedies; for in the first you have the free and unaffected morality of a gentleman, but in the latter the splenetick air of a severe Stoick. This Ode has been in English before more than once, but whether well or ill translated I leave to others to judge; I shall only say that I have seen very few translations of Horace that I can be pleas'd with, for most have copy'd only his thoughts without any thing of his diction, which is his principal beauty. 'Tis that vivacity in his stile, and particularly in his epithets, which Petronius Arbiter calls a *curiosa felicitas*, and in which no man ever, in my opinion, resembl'd him so much as Petronius himself, whose prose is as inimitable as the other's verse. Indeed in the time of pope Urban the VIIIth, who was a poet himself, Casimire a Polander and a Jesuit writ several Odes in imitation of Horace, in which there appears a good genius; but his Latin is not pure, and besides the disadvantage of writing in a dead language, he is defective in judgment, and his fancy is not always well governed. Those who have succeeded best in turning Horace into English have chosen the way of Paraphrase as the most proper; for his sense is close wrought, and would appear stiff and obscure in a literal translation, if such a one could be made, and there are many good hints in him worth the pursuing.

MAY 1728.

F f

None

None have pretended to copy his numbers; for the Pindarick, which seems fittest for us, and gives us a greater liberty and variety, does not answer the Latin measures. Yet I remember I once saw an attempt to write English Sapphicks, but it never was printed; and Sir Philip Sidney has composed Hexameters and other verses after the Latin measure; but they are unnatural to our language, for this reason chiefly, because we abound so in monosyllables. The Sapphick measure is indeed very musical, and what Horace seems best to have practised; but methinks it is too soft, and fit only to be employed on love and pleasant easy subjects: it seems too much confined, like the usual measure of our songs, and the lofty sense of some of his Odes is above it. Our English Pindarick is undoubtedly more majestic, if it be well contrived, and the various length and shortness of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhyme well chosen; and therefore, as I said before, it is the most proper for such Odes as have any thing of the sublime in them. I wonder Horace did not introduce something like it into his language, being so great an admirer of Pindar, and having in other respects imitated him so finely notwithstanding his declaration, *Pindarum quisquis*, &c. that Pindar was not to be imitated. In which Ode he commends him in these words:

*Laureâ donandus Apollinari !  
 Seu per audaces nova Dithyrambos  
 Verba devolvit, numerisq; fertur  
 Lege solutis.*

Thus

Thus english'd by Mr. Cowley.

*So Pindar does new words and figures roll  
Down his impetuous Dithyrambique tide,  
Which in no channel deigns t'abide,  
Which neither banks nor dikes controul.*

But this does not answer to the *numerus leges solutus*, in which Horace means only that Pindar's numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any set measure, in those Odes which were called Dithyrambick, which had the most heat and fury in them, being first invented in honour of *Bacchus*. And methinks Horace might sometimes have attempted this Dithyrambique measure, especially in that Ode, *Quo me Bacche rapis*, &c. But to return to the Ode which I have here endeavoured to imitate, I have taken a liberty in the paraphrase; the first stanza is added, and a simile or two, but nothing more than what is agreeable to his sense, and what I thought would make him appear to the best advantage. As it is, Sir, I submit it entirely to your judgment, since it was first attempted for your pleasure. 'Tis upon an agreeable subject, *viz.* tranquillity, and if it fails giving you any entertainment, I will readily acknowledge it to be my own fault; for I know you to be master of so much sense, so good a taste, and such just notions of human life, that I am sure Horace must please you, if he be not murdered in an ill translation. You may perceive, Sir, that as I cannot think the time long which I spend in your company, so neither can I think a letter long which I am writing to you; but I may be tempted to trespass upon you in one as well

as the other, therefore I will do as People shou'd  
after a tedious Visit, use a short Ceremony, and  
withdraw.

*I am, SIR,*

*Your very humble Servant,*

J. HUGHES.

Paraphrase of H O R A C E,

Ode XVI. Lib. 2. *Otium Divos, &c.*

*Inscrib'd to my Honour'd Friend \* \* \* \*.*

I.

**I**Ndulgent Quiet ! Pow'r Serene !  
The fairest Treasure of the Mind,  
Whom all invoke, but few can find ;  
Oh say, thou calm propitious Queen !  
Mother of Peace, and Joy, and Love !  
Say in what solitary Grove,  
Within what winding Cave, or secret Cell  
(By mortal Eyes unseen)  
Like some retreated Hermit dost thou dwell ?  
And why, O sacred Goddess ! why,  
When we thy fancy'd Mansion wou'd surround,  
Dost thou our vain Researches fly,  
And vanish from us like enchanted Ground ?

II.

The wand'ring Sailors, pale with Fear,  
For thee the Gods implore,

When



**Art. 27. the Republic of Letters.** 25

When the tempestuous Sea runs high,  
And when thro' all the dark benighted Sky  
No friendly Moon or Stars appear,  
To guide their Steerage to the Shore.  
For thee the weary Soldier prays ;  
Furious in Fight the valiant *Thrace*,  
And *Modes*, that wear majestick by their Side  
A full-charg'd Quiver's decent Pride,  
Gladly with thee wou'd pass their peaceful  
[Days,  
Renounce the Warrior's tempting Praise,  
And buy thee, if thou might'st be sold,  
With Gems, and purple Vests, and Stores of  
[plunder'd Gold.

**III.**

But neither boundless Wealth, nor Guards that  
[wait  
Around the Consul's honour'd Gate,  
Nor Antichambers with Attendants fill'd  
The Mind's uneasy Tumults can abate,  
Or banish Cares, that hov'ring fly  
Across the gilded Rooms of State,  
And their foul Nests, like Swallows, build  
Close to the Palace Roofs, and Tow'rs that grace  
[the Sky.  
Much less will Nature's Wants supply,  
And happier lives the homely Swain  
Who, in some Cottage far from Noise,  
His few Paternal Goods enjoys ;  
Nor knows the sordid Lust of Gain,  
Nor with Fear's tormenting Pain  
His downy Sleep destroys.

#### IV.

Vain Man ! that in a narrow Space  
Such endless Projects aims to try ;  
For short is Life's uncertain Race ;  
Then why, capricious Mortal ! why  
Dost thou for Happiness repair  
To warmer Climate, and a foreign Air ?  
In vain - - - since from thy self thou can't  
[not fly ;  
Thy self, the Source of all thy Care.  
So flies the wounded Stag, provok'd with Pain,  
Bounds o'er the Meads, and flow'ry Lawns in  
[vain ;  
The feather'd Torment sticks within his Side,  
And from the smarting Wound a purple Tide  
Marks all his way with Blood, and dyes the  
[grassy Plain.

V.

But swifter far is execrable Care  
Than Stags, or Winds that thro' the Skies  
Thick hov'ring Snows, and gather'd Tempests  
[bear ;  
Pursuing Care the sailing Ship outflies,  
Climbs the tall Vessel's painted Sides ;  
Nor leaves arm'd Squadrons marching in the  
[Field,  
But with the marshall'd Horsemen rides,  
And dwells alike in Courts and Camps, and makes  
[all Places yield.

## VI. Then

## VI.

Then since no State's compleatly blest,  
 Our lighter Ills let's sport away  
 With Laughter innocently gay,  
 Enjoy at least the present Day,  
     And leave to Fate the rest ;  
 Nor with vain Fears of what's to come  
 Anticipate th' appointed Doom.  
 Soon did *Achilles* quit the Stage,  
 That Hero fell by sudden Death,  
 While *Tybon* to a tedious wasting Age  
     Drew his protracted Breath.  
 And thus old partial Time, my Friend !  
 Perhaps (unask'd) to worthless me  
 Those Hours of lengthen'd Life may lend,  
     Which he'll refuse to thee.

## VII.

Thee shining Wealth and plenteous Joys sur-  
                                                             [round,  
 And all thy spacious Fields around  
 Unnumber'd Flocks of Cattle stray :  
 Thou sit'st and hear'st the sprightly Noise  
     Of thy neighing Coursers Voice,  
 That prancing draw thy glit'ring Coach o'er the  
                                                             [swift-measur'd Way.  
 To me - - - my Stars less prodigally kind  
     A slender Fortune have assign'd,  
     With a small Poetick Vein,  
     And a sincere contented Mind  
 That can the vile malignant Crowd disdain.



## ARTICLE XXVIII.

## L I S B O N.

THE Reader will perhaps be surprized to see an Article of Literature from this Quarter of the World ; but he will be no less so to hear that all the people of Quality, as well as the Critics in Portugal, will not allow the celebrated Cervantes to have been the Author of *Don Quixot*. They pretend that the honour of it is entirely due to Philip III. of Spain, to whose humour and character the fine raillery that runs through that work is perfectly agreeable ; for he was so great a master of ridicule, that he would often confound the strongest arguments of his Ministers with a grave jest. They own indeed that Cervantes, who was a creature of the Duke of Lerma's, first Minister to Philip, was by him employed to fit it for the press, and take care of the edition ; but they say he had not the least hand in the composition. Now several reasons incline me to think this a mistake. For though Philip had a great deal of humour, yet he can hardly be supposed so well acquainted with low life, as the Author of *Don Quixot* must have been : Nor must we judge of this from the characters of some of our own Princes ; for the Spaniards are much more fond of Majesty, and keep their Subjects

at the greatest distance. Besides, there are interspersed through the work several small pieces, of which Cervantes is known and allowed to be the author. Add, that had it been as they pretend, K. Philip would never have left Cervantes to starve, as he did, after the Duke of Lerma's death : nor could the true author of a book, that immediately gained so universal and so just an approbation, and which withal had so very good effects upon the Spanish Nation, have lain so long concealed.

## P A R I S.

I. **M**<sup>r.</sup> Le Grand has translated into French, *An historical Account of Abissinia*, from the original Portuguese MS. of F. Lobo, who was a Missionary in that Country : To which he has added several Dissertations, Letters, and new Memoirs ; in 4to. Mr. Thevenot never saw this MS. but the particulars relating to this Country, which he published in his Voyages, he learnt only at second-hand from some who had conversed with F Lobo, and they are to be found more full and exact in this curious book.

II. F. Buffier, an indefatigable Author, has just published the sequel of his *Grammaire Francoise, sur un Plan nouveau* : of which the first part is a philosophical and practical Treatise of *Poetry*, containing examples of all the several kinds of it, with critical reflections, and an account of the most celebrated authors who have handled this subject. The second part treats of *Eloquence*. He also promises a new edition of his Grammar.

III. F.

III. F. Cerceau has just published in two Volumes 12<sup>o</sup>. *L' Histoire de la dernière Revolution de Perse*, from the Memoirs of a Polish Jesuit, who was in Isphahan during the siege of that place, and had lived there 20 years. The subject of this book is so remarkable an event, that the Public will no doubt be very well pleased to have an account of it from so able an hand.

## L O N D O N.

**M**R. Thomson, the ingenious Author of the admired Poems *Winter* and *Summer*, and that upon Sir Isaac Newton's death, is now publishing *The Spring*. This gentleman excels in the real sublime, in a strength and justness both of thought and expression, in such beautiful, natural, and affecting descriptions, as are rarely to be met with in any of our Countrymen since Shakespear and Milton. But the judicious and well-placed reflexions of piety, virtue and humanity which run through his works, are the strongest recommendations of them to me, and ought to be so to all. Without these, poetry of any kind is but an idle and a fruitless amusement, whereas the true design of it should be

*To wake the Soul by tender strokes of art,  
To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.*

This is what Mr. Thompson aims at more than any of our modern Poets, and succeeds in it very happily. But I want such language as his own to do him justice, and cannot recommend his performance better than by publishing the two following passages from it: Nor shall I fear being censured as rash, if I venture to pronounce, that he must have no taste who is not  
charm-

charmed with them, and does not feel the tenderest emotions in his breast upon reading them. The first is part of what he calls *The Passion of the Groves*, and is a beautiful instance of his talent at natural description. Behold the glowing *Paint!*

*'Tis Love creates their gait, and all  
This waste of Music is the voice of Love;  
Which even to birds and beasts, the tender arts  
Of pleasing teacheth. Hence the glossy kind  
Try every winning way inventive Love  
Can dictate, and in flutt'ring courtship pour  
Their little souls before her. Wide around  
Respectful first in airy rings they rove,  
Endeavouring by a thousand tricks to catch  
The cunning, conscious, half-averted glance  
Of their regardless charmer. Should she seem,  
Softening, the least approbance to bestow,  
Their colours burnish, and by hope inspir'd  
They brisk advance; then on a sudden struck  
Retire disorder'd; then again approach,  
And throwing out the last efforts of Love,  
In fond rotation spread the spotted wing,  
And shiver every feather with desire.*

The next is a reflexion full of so much humanity, gratitude and goodness, that I am not ashamed to own I can hardly read it without tears. How divine the rage!

— For with hot ravine fir'd, ensanguin'd Man  
Is now become the Lion of the plain,  
And worse. The wolf, who from the nightly fold  
Fierce drags the bleating prey, ne'er drunk her milk,  
Nor wore her warming fleece! Nor has the steer,  
At whose strong chest the deadly Tiger hangs,  
E'er plow'd for him. They too are temper'd high,

By hunger stung, and wild necessity,  
 Nor lodges pity in their saggy breasts.  
 But Man, whom Nature form'd of milder clay,  
 By reason lighted into noble life,  
 With every kind emotion in his heart,  
 And taught alone to weep; while from her lap  
 She pours ten thousand delicacies, herbs,  
 And fruits as numerous as the drops of rain,  
 And beams which gave them birth: Shall he, fair  
 form!

Who wears sweet smiles, and looks erect on heaven,  
 E'er stoop to mingle with the prowling herd,  
 And dip his tongue in blood. The beast of prey,  
 'Tis true, deserves the fate in which he deals;  
 Him from the thicket let the hardy youth  
 Provoke, and foaming thro' th'awaken'd woods  
 With every nerve pursue. But you, ye flocks,  
 What have you done? Ye peaceful people, what  
 To merit death? You, who have given us milk  
 In luscious streams, and lent us your own coat  
 Against the winter's cold. And the plain ox,  
 That harmless, honest, guileless animal,  
 In what has he offended? He, whose toil,  
 Patient, and ever-ready, cloaths the fields  
 With all the pomp of harvest. Shall he bleed,  
 And wrestling groan beneath the cruel bands  
 Even of the clowns he feeds; and that perhaps  
 To swell the riot of the gathering feast,  
 Won by his labour? —





THE  
Present State  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC  
OF  
LETTERS.

For June, 1728.

VOL. I.

*—Fungar vice cotis, acutum  
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.  
Horat.*

LONDON:

Printed for WILLIAM INNYS, at the West  
End of St. Paul's. MDCCLXXIII.

Price One Shilling.

## *BOOKS printed for W. INNY S.*

1. **F**ossils of all Kinds, digested into a Method suitable to their mutual Relations and Affinity with the Names by which they were known by the Ancients, and those by which they are called at this present Time. With Notes conducing to the setting forth the Natural History, and the main Uses of some of the most considerable of them. As also several Papers tending to the further Advancement of the Knowledge of Minerals, of the Ores of Metals, and of all other subterraneous Productions. By *John Woodward*, M. D. late Professor of Physick at *Gresham-College*, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society. 8vo. 1728.

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THE



THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
Republick of Letters.

For JUNE 1728.

ARTICLE XXIX.

ANTIQUITATES Asiaticæ Christianam  
Æram antecedentes ; ex primariis Mo-  
numentis Græcis descriptæ ; Latinè red-  
ditæ, Notisque & Commentariis illu-  
stratæ. Accedit Monumentum Latinum  
Ancyranum. Per EDM. CHISHULL,  
S. T. B. Londini, Typis Guil. Bowyer.  
1728.

That is,

ASIATIC *Antiquities before the Christian*  
*Æra.* Pages 224. in Folio.

THIS Work must be very agreeable to all  
the Curious, who know the value and  
use  
JUNE 1728. G g

use of ancient Monuments and Inscriptions; especially as the learned and ingenious Author has treated his subject in a manner that cannot fail of equally pleasing all who read either for entertainment or improvement.

Nor has he swelled his book with idle and useless Monuments, but such only as may be of real service for the illustration of History, and other parts of ancient Learning, and sometimes of the sacred Writings themselves.

The first and most ancient is the famed *Sigæan Inscription*, found upon a piece of white Marble, nine foot long, a cubit in breadth, and eight inches thick. It lies in the place where the City Sigæum stood, about three miles from the Promontory of the same name; and as this city was entirely built with the materials of ruined Troy, our Author supposes this Stone may have been brought from thence among the rest. From its figure and inscription, it appears to have been the body of an *Hermæan* or *Mercurial Statue* †, erected to one Phanodicus in the Prytaneum of the Sigæans, on account of some presents made to it by

† These *Hermæan*, or *Mercurial Statues*, were nothing but an Head set upon the top of an oblong Pillar, sometimes of wood, sometimes of stone, which represented the Body in those early days, when Statuary was yet in its infancy. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent. p. 29. *περὶ ἀκραιωθῆναι τὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χάσεις, κίονας ἰσάντας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔσβον τέτης ὡς ἀοιδύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Cum non-dum exquisito habitu perfecta fuere simulachra, columnas figebant veteres, easque ut collocatas Numini Statuas adorabant. The first Statues were those of Mercury: And hence those made in this manner had their name, and the Art continued to be called *Ἐρμωλυπικὴ*.

him.

him. The inscription in the characters of the later Greeks runs thus :

Φανωδικῷ. εἰμι. τὸ  
ἐρμωκρατὺς. τὸ προκο  
νηστὺ. καὶ γὰρ. κρατῆρα.  
καὶ πύρατον. καὶ. ἡθῆμ  
ον. ἐς πρυτανεῖον. ἔ  
δωκα. μνημα. στήν  
εὐστ. εἰαν δὲ π. πασχ  
ω. μαλεδὸν ἰνεῖν. εὐ.  
στέγεις. καὶ. μ' ἐπε  
ησεν. ὁ αἰσώπος. καὶ.  
οἱ ἀδελφοί.

*Phanodici sum filii  
Hermocratis Proco-  
nesii. Et ego Craterem  
et crateris Basim et  
Colum ad Prytaneum  
dedi, memoriae ergo Si-  
gæis. Si quid vero patiar  
curare me jubebo  
Sigæos. Et fecit me  
Æsopus atque  
Fratres.*

In the *Prytaneum*, or *Town-house*, if I may call it so, they not only sacrificed to the gods, but feasted and made their public entertainments for those to whom the State would do honour. Accordingly, in large and wealthy Cities, it consisted of several magnificent Rooms or Halls, called *ἱσταπύλαι* by the Greeks, richly furnished with every thing necessary for the design of it, and presents of Plate were often made to it by Princes and great men. So Perseus of Macedon made a present of a set of gold Plate for the service of one table to the Town-house of Cyzicum \* ; and Tarfenius left a rich legacy of the same kind to that at Rhegium † ; and in the same manner our Phanodicus left to that of Sigæum *κρατῆρα*, a Bowl, *ἐπίστατον*, a Stand, and *ἡθῆμον*, a Strainer. The use of the first was to mix wine, to drink out of, and make libations to the gods. It was placed upon a side-table

\* Liv. l. 41. c. 20.

† Grut. Inscip. pag. 147. 7.

when the company set in to drink, and thence the Greek phrase *κρατῆρα σῆσαι* or *κρατίζειναι*, and the Latin *craterem statuere*. It stood upon the second, called otherways *ὑποκρατήριον*, and in Latin *Basis*. This word *ἐπίσταν* is not to be found in the Dictionaries. The third, in Latin *Colum*, was exactly fitted to the top of the bowl, and served both as a cover and ornament to it, and also to strain the liquors through either into the Bowl, or out of it into the *Calices* and *Urceoli*, out of which they usually drunk \*. It seems natural to think that by *crowning the Bowl*, the Poets meant the adorning of this *ἡθμῳ* with Flowers, &c. But this is only my own conjecture. Those of the rich were of gold or silver, often adorned with jewels and embossed work or graving; but the poorer sort made use only of a linnen bag for the same purpose. So Martial, Epig. 103.

*Setinos moneo nostra nive frange trientes :  
Pauperiore mero tingere lina potes.*

And 104.

*Attenuare nives nōrunt & lintea nostra ;  
Frigidior colo non salit unda tno.*

They were particularly useful against the *κῶνωπις*, *culices*, a sort of gnat that loved mightily to sip wine. To this the Scripture alludes, *Matt. xxiii. 24.* Τὸν κῶνωπα διυλίζοντες, τὴν δὲ κάμυλον καταπίνοντες : This is very ill translated in our

\* Athenz. l. 11. c. 8. ἀπὸνιζε δὲ κύλικα, δῶσαν πρῶτον ἀπὸνιζε, ἐκπιδείξ δὲ ἡθμῶν. *Bibere daturus, Pocillator, abluo calicem, imponens calum.*

English



Art. 29. *the Republick of Letters.* 441

English version, *which strain at a gnat, &c.* for *which strain out a gnat*, as *διολίζοντες* is rightly rendred *διθυσόντες* by Hesychius.

This Inscription carries in itself several authentic marks of its antiquity. By the characters, which differ very little from the Phœnician, it appears to have been cut while the Greeks used the Alphabet of Cadmus, with the two Letters, viz. *θ* and *χ*, added by Palamedes, and before the long Vowels *η* and *ω*, and the double Consonants *ξ* and *ψ*, were introduced by Simonides. But particularly,

1. This Inscription is remarkable for the old Ionic Asperate *Η*, which is here frequently used for the same purpose as that character is now by the moderns. It was the eighth Letter of the ancient Greek alphabet, as it still is of ours, before it came to be used to express a long *ε*, and the *spiritus asper* supplied its place; and accordingly it still stands for the number 8. Our Author observes from hence, that *ἡθυμς* should be aspirated, notwithstanding the authority of all MSS. to the contrary, which it must be owned is not so much to be depended upon as that of an Inscription in stone. It may indeed be said, that as all living Languages are constantly changing, it is very probable that many words which were written and pronounced with an aspiration in early times, might afterwards be both written and pronounced without it. However, as to this word, he is supported by the Greek Scholiast of Apollonius. I cannot imagine how Mr. Le Clerc, speaking of this Inscription, came to say that *Η* is used in it without any sound but that of a *spiritus lenis*.

2. The vowels *ε* and *ο*, whether long or short, have here always the same figure. From these two circumstances, our Author shows that this Inscription must be as old at least as the Archoncy of Euclid at Athens. For Simonides had altered the Alphabet, and all the Greeks in general run into the use of the new one long before him. The Athenians alone refused to admit it into their public writings and records, on pretence of some law to the contrary, which occasioned the Cadmean alphabet to be frequently called the Athenian. But at last Callistratus having formed that Greek alphabet at Samos which we now use, the Athenians, that they might not be too singular, were induced to receive that of Simonides into the public Deeds, Euclid being then Archon, about 450. years before Christ. And hence this new way of writing had the name *τὸ μὴ Ἑκλείδῳ Γραμματικῆς*, of *the Grammar after Euclid*, and became a certain mark of the ancient or modern date of an Inscription.

3. The Genitive cases now ending in *ι*, here always end in *ο* without an *υ*; and so likewise *ε* and *η* are written promiscuously for each other: as *μελεδαινεο*, *εποεο*, *σχηο*, for *μελεδαινευ*, *εποευ*, *σχειυ*; which are also marks of its antiquity †.

4. The characters agree entirely with those of the Inscription put upon some consecrated Pillars by Herodes Atticus, a most curious lover of antiquity. It is still to be seen in the Farnese gardens at Rome, and in Gruter's col-

† Vid. Casaub. ad Athen. l. II. c. 5.

lection. It is remarkable that the letters D, L and R, have there the same figures as in our alphabet: and Pliny tells us, l. 7. c. 57, 58. that the ancient Greek characters were much the same with those used by the Romans in his time. The letter  $\chi$  in the word  $\dagger\theta\omega\iota\omega\tau$  has given a great deal of pain to the Critics. Montfaucon says that  $\dagger$  is  $\kappa\tau\alpha$ , and  $\dagger\theta\omega\iota\omega\tau$  to be read  $\kappa\tau\alpha\chi\theta\omega\iota\omega\tau$ . But by comparing this with the Sigæan stone, it appears to be only the original figure of the letter  $\chi$ , as is evident from the word  $\pi\alpha\chi\omega$ , written  $\pi\alpha\chi\dagger\omega$ . This is another proof of its antiquity.

5. But what is most particular in this Inscription is, its being written  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\phi\epsilon\mu\delta\iota\tau$ , that is, the first line from left to right, and the next from right to left, the faces of the letters also being turned in one line to the right, and in the next to the left; which is expressed in this distich:

*Non attollebant dextras, sed meta prioris  
Principium versus posterioris erat. \**

This Inscription is the more curious for being the only instance now remaining of that ancient way of writing. Nor did Pausanias, though a most industrious searcher into antiquity, ever see any inscription of this sort, but that on Cypselus's chest, in which he was concealed from those who sought his death. His son Periander, one of the seven wise men of Greece, wrote that inscription; and Solon, another of them, also wrote his laws  $\beta\epsilon\sigma\phi\epsilon\mu\delta\iota\tau$ ,

\* Matt. Belius de Litterat. Hunno-Scythia.

which were as much famed on this account, as for their wisdom and equity. Now it is to be observed that soon after Sigæum was built by a colony of Mitylenæans from Lesbos, the Athenians endeavoured to take it from them, and this Periander being chosen arbiter of the war, decided the cause in favour of the Athenians, of which State Solon being then Regent, took possession of the city of Sigæum in their name. From these circumstances, our Author thinks it probable that this statue of Phanodicus was erected much about the time that Solon published his laws, and Sigæum was adjudged to the Athenians by Periander, both of whom used this way of writing. Add to this that the Æolians continued for a long time to write from right to left, like the Phœnicians from whom they had their letters, as appears not only from several Æolic coins, but likewise from the Tuscan monuments discovered at Eugubio and Perugia in Italy, the characters of which agree perfectly with those of the Sigæan inscription, and show that they and the ancient Tuscan were originally carried into that country by the Æolians \*. Now as Sigæum was an Æolic colony, they also wrote from right to left, and as the Ionians all wrote from left to right, this way of writing *Βυσποπιδδν* seems to be compounded of both, at the time that the Athenians seized Sigæum. Hence our Author judges this Inscription to be as old as Solon and Periander, that is, almost 2300 years. The Chinese manner of writing from the top to the bottom, was not unknown to the Greeks : For Festus upon the

\* Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. l. i. c. 90. Athenæi, l. 10. c. 6,

letter T tells us : *Tæpocœn soliti sunt adpellare Græci genus scribendi deorsum versus, ut nunc dextrorsum scribimus.* Scaliger says, one must be an OEdipus to understand this passage, which is indeed very obscure. We owe the explication of it to Jean de Croi, a Professor of a Protestant College at Nimes about 100 years ago, who in his *Observationes sacræ & historicæ*, Cap. ix. first observed that instead of Tæpocon, which is unintelligible, we should read Toëporchon, in Greek τὸ ἐπ' ὄρχον, from ὄρχος which signifies a row of trees. †

6. In this, as in some other very ancient Monuments, the Tuscan particularly, these words are separated by points, sometimes two, sometimes three in number. But the Articles, Præpositions and Conjunctions, are never separated from the Nouns that follow them, but stand like the *Præfixæ* in the Phœnician, or Hebrew.

7. The *Hiatus* between *æ* and *i* in *μελεῖται ιενει* is remarkable. The Æolians avoided carefully the meeting of two vowels; and to part them sometimes left an *hiatus*, and sometimes inserted their *Digamma* between. Thus they wrote *ἄλφιον*, *δημοφον*, *ἄλφονφον*, for *ἄλιν*, *δημοφον*, *ἄλοφον*. Sometimes also they prefixed it to words beginning with a vowel; and this was peculiar to the Æolians, as the aspirate *Η*, used for the same purposes, was to the Ionians. From this observation, our Author explains the Inscription on the Pedestal that anciently supported the Colossus of Apollo at Delos,

† See *Iibl, Anc. & Mod. T.* 28. P. 1. p. 739.

where

where *αFun* is written for *αυτῆς*, which Montfaucon and others have horridly mangled for want of this critical remark. Instead of this *Digamma*, the *Æolians* often used an *υ*, according to Scaliger's observation. Thus they wrote either *αυας* or *αFας* for *ἡας*. Hence the Greeks wrote *Ούλια*, *ῥιλια* and *Ῥιλια*, and the Romans first *Helia*, and then *Velia*, for the name of the same city † : And hence, in this Inscription, *Ξιγνυουσι* seems to be written for *Ξιγλυουσι*, or *Ξιγλιουσι*.

After this our Author enters into a very curious enquiry concerning the original figures of the Hebrew, Phœnician, Greek and Tuscan letters ; and the history of their progress through the world. The Latins received them from the Greeks, and they from the Phœnicians. The Phœnician were the same with the Samaritan characters, and they the same with the Hebrew till the Babylonish captivity, after which Esdras reformed, or rather spoilt their alphabet. The Jewish letters, before the captivity, were the same with those of Moses's Pentateuch, and the characters of the Pentateuch we may suppose were the same with those which God wrote with his own finger on the Tables of Stone. Whence our Author draws this fine conclusion, That the world owes Learning and revealed Religion to the same divine Author. ||

As

† See Dionys. Hal. l. 1. c. 20. & Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

|| Moses indeed was the first that taught the Israelites Letters and the use of them, according to Eupolemus, as quoted by Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. But Sir Isaac Newton supposes that Moses did not learn Letters on Mount

As to the matter and style of the Inscription, the Author observes that most ancient ones were written in some kind of verse or other; and hence *Epigrams*, i. e. *Inscriptions*, had their name.

Our Author seems inclined to believe that the *Æsop* who made this, was the famed slave of that name. His age, the history of his life, a great part of which he spent with Solon and Periander, carry nothing contrary to such a supposition. In Plutarch's feast of the wise men, Anacharsis objects to *Æsop*, that *he spent his whole time among Carvers in wood and stone*. Besides, as this Statue personates and talks as if it were Phanodicus himself, and is the only one in antiquity that does so, it is not he thinks unnatural to ascribe it to the same Phrygian who so often introduced brutes talking. The brothers of *Æsop* mentioned in the Inscription, are not to be understood of those whom we properly call so, but of brother workmen, or of his partners; for one part of a Statue was finished by one hand, another by another, as each excelled in making an head, a body, an arm, a hand or foot, &c. So Horace *de Art. Poet.* ver. 32.

*Æmilium circa ludum faber imus & ungues  
Exprimet, & molles imitabitur ære capillos,  
Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum  
Nesciet.*

Mount Sinai, but in Midian; and his opinion about Moses's learning the use of Letters there, and not in Egypt, where the Jews might then have learnt it also, is mightily confirmed by this testimony: And so indeed is his whole Chronology, by observing what small alterations were made in Cadmus's alphabet, even so late as 500 years before Christ.

Dr. Bent-

Dr. Bentley indeed has changed *faber imus* into *faber unus*; but the common reading Mr. Chishull thinks is confirmed by the following Inscription found at Thyatira. Λικιννίου. Ρουφίνου. Συγκληπκου. υιον. Λικιννίου. Ρουφίνου. οι. Πρεβ. του. Ηρακλεια. πρωτων. γυμνασιων. νεανισκοι. και. εσται. τι. αρχαιον. τε. τελευ. i. e. Licinnium Rufinum Senatorium Filium Licinnii Rufini *posuere*, qui sunt circa Herculeanum Ludum, primarum Scholarum Juvenes, quique secundum vetus institutum sunt tertiæ, *circa eundem*, Scholæ. Where, says he, *ὁ δὲ πρὶν Ἡρακλῆα νεανῖσκοι* seems exactly to answer to Horace's *Æmilium circa Ludum faber*, and *faber imus* to the Artists of the third class in the Inscription.

The next Piece of Antiquity which our Author illustrates, is another Inscription on a stone found also at Sigæum, by Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; when he was Ambassador at the Port, and by him brought into England. It contains a decree of the Sigæans, ordering a golden Statue of Antiochus on horseback, to be erected on a Pedestal of white Marble, and a day of solemn Thanksgiving to the gods for two Victories over Nicomedes, who had revolted after Seleucus Nicator the father of Antiochus was slain, before Christ 280 years. Among other things remarkable, it is an instance of that servile and idolatrous adoration which the Greeks paid to the Successors of Alexander the Great, calling them *Σωτῆρες Θεοί*. The Priest of Antiochus is here mentioned, which shews that he was deified in his lifetime; and this is confirmed by Athenæus, l. 6. c. 16. Hence appears the reason why in an ancient Marble



Marble this same Antiochus is called ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος. His son Antiochus also was surnamed *Theus*: which Father Hardouin in his chronology of the old Testament, p. 173. not understanding, confounded the two together, and struck the latter entirely out of the List of the Kings of Syria. And Spanheim, *de usu Numism.* p. 415. fell into the like error, in supposing Antiochus Theus to be meant by the above-mentioned words. In the Inscription ordered to be put on the Pedestal, Antiochus is also called Σωτὴρ, for having delivered the country from the usurpation of Nicomedes. This surname he retained ever after; but it is not to be found on any coins, nor any where else but in books, except in this one Marble, and another which serves for the threshold of a door in Turkey in Asia. Nero improved upon this glorious Title given to the Successors of Alexander, and would have himself be called Σωτὴρ τοῦ οἰκουμένης, the Saviour of the World. To this very probably St. Paul had an eye, when writing to the Philippians who gloried in their being a Roman Colony, and free of the City of Rome, and in their *Saviour Cæsar*, he says, Ἡμῶν - - τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν ἑξουσίᾳ ὑπάρχει, ἧς ἔστι καὶ Σωτὴρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. i. e. *We are free of the heavenly City, [not, our Conversation is in heaven] from whence also we expect our Saviour, &c.* Phil. iii. 20. This is also probably the reason why St. Paul, who was the Minister of the Gentiles, and saw these impious titles Σωτὴρας Θεὸς so frequently on their Coins and Marbles, and heard them so often proclaimed publicly by their Heralds, is so full and strenuous in asserting the Right of Jesus Christ alone to them \*.

them \*. And with the same view Eusebius † glories that the Roman Emperors *χειρόν τε τῆ Θεῆ παῖδα, παμβασιλεία τῶν ὅλων ὁμολογεῖν, Σωτῆρα τε αὐτὸν ἐν σήλαις ἀναγορεύειν* ; i. e. owned Christ the Son of God to be King of the whole World, and declared him the Saviour on Pillars.

Mr. Chishull gives us next an ancient Inscription which Sir G. Wheeler and Dr. Spon first published, having found it on a Marble Pedestal in a private house near the Church in Chalcedon. Their Copies differ very much, nor did either of them understand the Inscription. Mr. Chishull observing that the first line runs thus,

Οὐρεον ἐκ πρύμνης πὶς ὁδηγητῆρα καλεῖτω  
Ζῆνα, &c.

and that Jupiter Urius is mentioned by Cicero against Verres as worshipped *in Ponti ore* ἢ *angustiis*, where also his Statue stood, concludes this Inscription and Pedestal to have belonged to it, having been carried to Chalcedon from the mouth of the Pontus, after the Statue was destroyed. The Inscription, as Mr. Chishull has restored it, runs thus :

Οὐρεον ἐκ πρύμνης πὶς ὁδηγητῆρα καλεῖτω  
Ζῆνα, καὶ πρυμνῶν ἴσον ἐκπετάσας,  
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ κυανέας θύρας ἀρόμῳ, ἐνθα Ποσειδῶν  
κάμπυλον εἰλίψει κῶμα παρὰ ψαμάδοις.  
Εἴτα καὶ Ἀργαίας πόνηε πλάγας νόσον ἐρέυνων  
Νεῖδω, τῶδε βαλὼν ψαῖα παρὰ ξοάνῳ,  
Ὡς δὲ ἑυάντητον αἰεὶ διδόν, Ἀντιπάρβη παῖς,  
Στῆπε θύλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβουλον ἐυπλοῖης.

\* See 1 Tim. i. 1. ii. 3, 7. 2 Tim. ii. 10, 11. Tit. i. 3, 4. ii. 10, 13. iii. 4. † Eccl. Hist. l. 10. c. 4.

Which

*Nauta Jovem celsa ductorem è puppe vocato  
Urion, extenso vela rudente parans.  
Sic bene Cyaneo curret tibi vortice pinus,  
Quà rotat incurvas Ennosigæus aquas.  
Tum, reditum Ægæi meditans super æquora ponti,  
Fac redi, at huic Statuæ solvere liba memor :  
Quà posuit nautis dextrum & lætabile numen  
Ritè Philo, salvos ire redire jubens.*

Διὸς οὐρανίου, i. e. a favourable Gale sent by Jove, so often to be found in Homer, occasioned both the title and worship of this *Jupiter Urius*, the Protector of Sailors. Petrus Gyllius describing the Statue we are here speaking of, has these words : *In Fano Statua area est antiquæ artis, ætatem puerilem præ se ferens, tendens manus.* But Cicero, in the Oration cited above, says that *Jupiter Imperator* is the same whom the Greeks call *Jupiter Urius*. Nothing certainly is more foreign to the character of *Jupiter Urius*, than the title of *Imperator* ; and therefore Mr. Chishull thinks Cicero probably wrote *Jupiter Imp.* for *Jupiter Impuber*, which was mistaken by the Copiers for *Jupiter Imperator*, the title given to Jove when adorned with Ensigns of Power, but not when represented like a Boy, as he was here. He supports his conjecture, by observing that *Impuber* agrees very well with the names commonly given him of *Jupiter Axur*, or *Anxurus*, *nondum barbatus*, *Puer*, and *Vejovis*, of whom Ovid says, *Fast.* 3.

*Jupiter est juvenis, juveniles aspice vultus.*

See also Fast. 3. 445. Tho' Gellius takes *Vejovis* to signify *Jupiter nocens*. Our Author adds, that the Romans worshipped him under the title sometimes of *Jupiter Puer*, and sometimes of *Jupiter Serenus*, and joined him under the first of these titles to *Fortuna primigenia*, and under the latter to *Fortuna redux*, as appears by some Inscriptions he produces from Gruter; and thinks nothing could better or more plainly express the *Jupiter Urius* of the Greeks. This Statue was of brass, most exquisitely wrought; and from the two last lines, of which Dr. Spon could make no sense, our Author collects that it was the workmanship of the celebrated Philo, the same who was employed by Alexander to make the Statue of his favourite Hephæstion, and consequently that it was erected about the time that the Macedonians conquered Asia.

There are a great many other remarkable Inscriptions in this Work, but I must defer taking notice of any more of them till another occasion.



## ARTICLE XXX.

T R A I T E de la Morale des Peres de  
l'Eglise : Où en defendant un Article  
de la Preface sur *Puffendorf*, contre  
*L'Apologie de la Morale des Peres* du  
P. Ceil-

P. Ceillier, Religieux Bénédictin de la Congregation de S. Vanne, & de S. Hydulphe ; on fait diverses Reflexions sur plusieurs Matieres importantes. Par JEAN BARBÉYRAC, Professeur en Droit à Groningue, & Membre de la Societé Royale des Sciences à Berlin. A Amsterdam. 1728.

That is,

*A TREATISE concerning the Morality of the Fathers.* pagg. 376. in 4to. besides the Index.

**T**HE Authority of the Fathers in *doctrinal Points*, the foundation upon which the Church of Rome builds her Traditions and pretended Infallibility, has long been overturned; but Mr. Barbeyrac is the first that ever ventured directly to attack the *Morals* of these good men ; and if he makes out his charge against them, their credit must be entirely ruined.

In the Preface to his excellent translation of Puffendorf, among other things he says ; “ that  
 “ it is ridiculous to cry that Christianity is un-  
 “ done if we have not a great veneration for  
 “ the Fathers, or freely speak of them as they  
 “ deserve ; that many divisions were occasioned  
 “ in the Church by their ignorance, passions,  
 “ and idle subtilties ; that almost all of them  
 “ fell into very gross errors touching Morality,  
 JUNE 1728. H h “ and

“ and that the most celebrated Doctors of the  
 “ first six Centuries, are but bad Masters, and  
 “ sorry Guides in the Principles of it ; that  
 “ some of their works are no better than col-  
 “ lections of idle and impertinent stuff, as for  
 “ instance, *St. Augustin’s Commentary on the*  
 “ *Psalms* ; that it is an evident relick of Po-  
 “ pery in some Protestants, to take the Fathers  
 “ part with so much zeal and warmth, and to  
 “ endeavour at any rate to put the same yoke  
 “ upon the necks of their neighbours.” These  
 reflections, however just, gave great offence to  
 the fond admirers of those venerable Sages.  
 Among others, F. Ceillier took the alarm, and  
 published a voluminous Defence of the Fathers,  
 or rather a bitter and partial invective against  
 the Protestants, “ with whom, says he, it has  
 “ always been a maxim to own no other Rule  
 “ of Faith but the sacred Scriptures. Almost  
 “ all of them have expressed a high contempt  
 “ for the apostolical Traditions, of which the  
 “ Fathers were the Depositaries. And if at  
 “ any time they do make use of their autho-  
 “ rity, ’tis only to serve a turn. They have never  
 “ admitted it universally ; nor is it difficult to  
 “ guess the reason of this conduct. The Tra-  
 “ ditions of the Apostles, declared by the un-  
 “ animous testimony which the Fathers of every  
 “ age have given to the catholick Faith, are a  
 “ clear, evident and unalterable Law, which is  
 “ not the case with the Bible. As that is ob-  
 “ scure, and capable of several meanings, they  
 “ thought it much more proper to support their  
 “ errors ; and under the specious pretence of  
 “ teaching such Doctrines only as were inspired  
 “ by God, they have seduced the minds of the  
 “ people, by palming upon them for oracles of  
 “ the

“ the H. Ghost, the grossest errors and profane  
 “ novelties, hatched by the father of lies him-  
 “ self. This contempt of antiquity discovers  
 “ itself most remarkably in the Heretics of lat-  
 “ ter times; of whom the greatest part not  
 “ satisfied with rejecting the authority of the  
 “ Fathers, because of the opposition they found  
 “ between their own errors, and the opinions  
 “ of the ancients, have moreover loaded them  
 “ with calumny and ill language.” These are  
 the words with which F. Ceillier begins his De-  
 fence, and as he goes on throughout in the  
 same strain, always taking the Infallibility of  
 the Fathers for granted, it will, I think, be  
 needless to take any further notice of him.

Mr. Barbeyrac's aim in this treatise, is to ju-  
 stify the above-cited paragraph, by showing that  
 the principles of Morality laid down by the Fa-  
 thers were generally founded either upon false  
 or allegorical Explications of Scripture, or up-  
 on idle and vain subtilties, and ridiculous quib-  
 bles; and that they were either bad in them-  
 selves, or else pushed to such a degree of strict-  
 ness and rigor, as to make Christianity and  
 Virtue odious to, and incompatible with hu-  
 man nature. In order to do this, he adduces  
 their own original words, which he explains  
 agreeably to the context, and the avowed and  
 uncontested notions of the Father from whom  
 he quotes them, or at least to his genius and  
 character. He also sometimes confirms his ex-  
 planation of a passage, when contested by the  
 Apologist, from its conformity with the opini-  
 ons and expressions of some other ancient Fa-  
 ther. He has interspersed, as occasion offered,  
 Dissertations upon several curious and impor-

tant subjects ; such as *the Lawfulness of second Marriages*, and of *Marriage in general*, the false notions of *Virginity and Celibacy*, the pretended distinction between the *Counsels* and the *Precepts* of the Gospel ; *voluntary Martyrdom*, *allegorical Interpretations of Scripture*, &c. But particularly he enlarges upon *Civil Toleration in Matters of Religion*, and very warmly attacks his adversary, who, contrary to all the sentiments not only of Christian charity, but even of the most common humanity, openly declares for persecution without the least reserve. He has also touched upon that nice point, *Ecclesiastical Toleration*, and observes that it would be one great step towards a prudent and just Toleration in the *Church*, if we could once bring ourselves to see, without reluctance, every man enjoy in the *State* a Liberty of serving God according to his own Conscience.

The nature of this work will not admit of a continued abstract ; but as our Author treats of each Father in a chapter apart, I shall follow his method, by giving a few instances of what I find most remarkable upon each.

1. And first for *Justin Martyr* : In order to remove the scandal of the Cross from Christianity, he observes that nothing is done in this world without a cross, and brings for instances the masts and yards of a ship, the shape of plows, howes, and other mechanical instruments ; adding, that what most distinguishes the figure of a man from that of a beast, is, that standing upright, he can extend his arms so as to form a cross with his body ; and that he wears upon his face a nose through which he breathes, and which represents the cross ; and that



that accordingly the Crucifixion of our Saviour was foretold by the prophet Jeremy, *Lam. iv. 20.* in these words : *The Spirit before our face, the Christ, the Lord* ; as he renders it, instead of *The breath of our nostrils*, &c. an expreffion fignifying only that the King there fpoken of was the *Life and Soul* of his people.

But to come clofer to his Morals : The fame Father having faid in his Apology that the Chriftians either married only for the fake of getting children, or elfe lived in perpetual continence ; adds, as a kind of encomium upon the principles of his brethren, that a young profelyte of Alexandria, in order to convince the Heathens that the Chriftians did not entertain a promifcuous carnal commerce with their women, petitioned Felix governor of the city, that he would grant leave to a Surgeon to castrate him ; but that Felix having refufed his request, the young man continuing as he was, contented himfelf with the testimony of a good Confcience, and of his Fellow-Chriftians. This is not all ; for the fame Father, among the reft, looked upon and fpoke of Marriage as fomething impure in its own nature. *We fee fome*, fays he, *renounce the unlawful ufe of Marriage, by which we fatisfy the defire of the flefh.* And in another place, that *Chrift was born of a Virgin for this reafon only, that he might abolifh generation, which is the effect of an unlawful defire - - the only carnal defire our Saviour never gratified.*

2. Irenæus declares all Swearing in any cafe criminal ; and herein he agrees with Juftin-Martyr ; as he does alfo with refpect to the ufe of Marriage, which he pretends was indulged under the Gospel only for the hardnefs of our

hearts, as Divorce was under the old. He lays it down, that whenever the Scripture barely relates an action without condemning it, we are not to censure it however heinous in itself, but look upon it as a type. And thus he excuses the incest of Thamar and of Lot's daughters : because, says he, we must not be wiser than God. I cannot here transcribe the tedious, weak and ridiculous arguments he makes use of to justify the Israelites robbing the Egyptians of their plate and jewels. The whole of his sense upon this head seems to be comprehended in his explication of Luk. xvi. 5. which he quotes thus : *Make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye are put to flight, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.* For, says he, *whatsoever we acquire, though unjustly, while Heathens, if after our conversion we employ it in the Service of the Lord, we are thereby justified.* No need of Restitution then.

3. Next comes St. Athenagoras, who makes *second marriages* no better than *honourable or decent adultery* ; because Christ said, *Whoever putteth away his wife, and marieth another, committeth adultery,* " Therefore, says the saint, no man  
 " must separate from his wife, even after she is  
 " dead, else he is guilty of a secret adultery, not  
 " only because he does what is contrary to the  
 " work of God, who made only one woman  
 " for one man, but also because he divides  
 " his own flesh from that to which it was uni-  
 " ted by a Society for the conjunction of the  
 " two sexes." It happens luckily that St. Paul is of a contrary opinion, Rom. vii. 3. Notwithstanding so good an authority in favour of widowers and widows, most of the Fathers de-  
 clare

clare for St. Athenagoras's opinion. St. Jerom in particular is full of invectives against second Marriages. "If a young widow, says he, cannot, or will not keep herself chaste, let her take a husband rather than the devil. - - - The Apostle by allowing widows a second husband, allows them also a third, nay a score, if they please, to show them that it was not so much to encourage Matrimony, as to prevent their being public Prostitutes.—Consider well that a widow, who has had two husbands, be she ever so old, decrepit or poor, is unworthy of the alms of the Church, and much more unworthy of the bread which came down from heaven, which whoever eats unworthily is guilty of abusing the body and blood of Christ." Nor did the Fathers confine their principles upon this head to speculation only. About the end of the second, or beginning of the third Century, they actually forbid second Marriages to all Ecclesiastical persons: nay, a Clergyman was not allowed even to marry a widow. This unnatural rule was not however universally received, and where it was, there were different opinions concerning a Pagan who had been twice married, and desired Ordination; some thinking it sufficient if he had not married the second wife since his baptism, others extending the prohibition even to the time preceding his conversion. Afterwards the Laics also who ventured upon second Marriages were stigmatized, and a penance imposed upon those who were not satisfied with the first. It consisted in being suspended from the benefit of the Sacrament for a certain time, which was lengthened in proportion to the number of Marriages. In the Greek Church

they were not allowed to wear the crown which was usually put upon the heads of married people. They came so far at last as to persuade the Emperor Basil the Macedonian to declare fourth Marriages null, and the children born of them bastards. And a Patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated the Emperor Leo, fir-named the Philosopher, who having no Succes-sor, married a fourth wife for the sake of issue.

In general, the Fathers looked upon the most natural and most innocent pleasures as vicious in themselves, and upon God's allowing the use of them as a kind of toleration or indulgence which human infirmity forced from him, in order to prevent greater evils. Because the Gospel bids us deny our selves, they pretend that Christianity must utterly destroy nature. Hence came the monastick life; hence those numerous and insignificant austerities and mortifications; hence those vows of celibacy and virginity, which being rashly made and ill kept, have produced infinite disorders: on this is founded the necessity of celibacy imposed on the Priests, and attended with the most shocking and abominable consequences, for the remedying of which all the complaints and representations of the Laity have availed nothing with the Head of the Church, who has made use of it to establish and maintain his own power. The Author occasionally remarks, that they called the Nuns and Friars *the Spouses of Christ*; and for the same reason St. Jerom gives Eustochium a Nun the title of *My Lady*, (as being Christ's Spouse) and to her mother that of *God's Mother-in-law*. Is not this making a downright Farce of Religion?

4 Clement of Alexandria appears next upon the stage. The Author gives an abstract of his book called *The Pedagogue*, in which he finds a great many absurdities. Among other things, he takes a great deal of pains to show that Christ is the instructor of *women* as well as *men*, because the appellation *man* is common to both sexes: He observes that *the Atticans made use of the word Παιδείων in the common gender to denote both male and female*; and that *Agnes, Lambs*, is also of the common gender: Now, says he, *God is our shepherd*; and without a shepherd neither sheep nor any thing else can live: consequently neither children without a pedagogue, nor servants without a master. Here the Father shows that all men are children, and therefore stand in need of a pedagogue; and tells us that in the story of Abimelech, who from his window saw Isaac sporting with Rebecca, by Isaac we are to understand these children, because *Isaac signifies to laugh*, which is the property of children. *Abimelech*, that curious and prying King, is *wisdom* above that of the world. *Rebecca* is *Patience*. Now this *wisdom attentively considered the mystery of the sport*. O wise sport! O divine sport! cries he; the same which *Heraclitus makes his Jupiter play at*. For is there any thing more fitting a wise and prudent person, than to divert and entertain himself with the patience of good things, and the practice of virtue, by celebrating festivals with God? Again; *Abimelech* is also *Jesus Christ our King*, who from heaven beholds our laughter, i. e. our thanksgivings, praises, and transports of joy, &c. But which was the window through which our Lord looked? Why it was the flesh, in which he manifested him-

*himself*. After this he spends a great deal of time in refuting those, who from the title of *children* given to Christians might infer that the Gospel was *childish and contemptible*. Upon this occasion happening to mention *milk*, he tells us that the reason why Homer, speaking of some whom he represents as *just men*, calls them *eaters of milk* \*, was because the poet had found out that the *eternal reason* is allegorically called *milk*, and that God promises this *milk* to the *just*.

He is extremely rigid with respect to meats and drinks, which, he says, we ought to use only for the preservation of our lives, and by no means in order to gratify our appetite or inclinations. We ought not, says he, to indulge ourselves in luxurious eating : but why ? because there is a certain glutton of a devil, who presides over good cheer. Among excesses of this nature he reckons *white bread*, the use of which, says he, is effeminate, and turns a necessary food into scandalous voluptuousness. He allows young people to drink no wine, and condemns all those who send for wine from other countries ; and abuses the Kings of Persia, who would drink no water but that of the river Choaspes in India : he also condemns all gold and silver plate. He banishes all musick, both vocal and instrumental, from entertainments, unless it be a sacred hymn sung to the harp or the lute. The *flute* in particular he thinks is fitter for beasts than men, and that for a very odd reason ; *viz.* because hinds are delighted with the sound of it, and thereby enticed into the huntsman's toils, and

\* Iliad. xiii. ver. 6.

because

because it was a custom to play upon it to mares, whilst the horse was covering them. He blames the wearing garlands, because among other reasons equally good, it is an insult upon the passion of our Saviour, who was crowned with thorns. He thinks we are obliged in duty to imitate what Jacob was forced to by necessity, when he made a stone his pillow, which according to Clement was the merit that rendred him worthy of an heavenly vision. He declares against the wearing of any colours but *white*, as being the only one suitable to the *candor* of a Christian, and that in which God always appeared. He is no less an enemy to all precious stones and jewels. He declaims against *Looking-glasses*, and makes the use of them idolatry, because *Moses* forbid the making of any images. Shaving the beard is an heinous crime, because it is a distinction of sex, and because the hairs of our head are all numbered. He is very severe upon parrots, and lap-dogs, and other such favourites among the ladies. The use of baths he makes a piece of impudent voluptuousness. He allows men to wear no rings but on their little fingers, and condemns the engraving upon them not only nudities, and false gods, but also swords or bows, because not instruments of peace, nor bowls or cups, because they minister to intemperance. False hair is an horrible impiety with him, and Wigs must have fallen under the same censure had they been in fashion in those days: 'Tis a cheat upon men, says he, and an affront to God, as if the hair he thinks fit to give us were not good enough for us: And when the Priest at the sacred font blesses a woman that wears false hair, by laying his hands upon her head, he blesses not her, but another, for the head

head is not her's. Christians ought not to salute one another publicly, nor an husband to kiss his wife before any even of his own family. In short, Mr. Barbeyrac defies any one to show him one single virtue rightly founded, explained or expressed, either as to its nature or the practice of it, in this book of St. Clement's; and it must be owned, says our Author, that he like the rest of the Fathers applied himself very little to consider and enquire into the foundation and true nature of morality, the study of which required a great deal more than a superficial perusal of the Bible, without any judgment or true notion of criticism, and with a head full of nothing but allegory. These good people could not so much as make any tolerable advantage of the heathen philosophers whom they read. They neglected the helps they might have drawn from them upon this subject, while in other respects they generally took what had better been left. Clement in particular applies the Apathy of the Stoicks to his Gnostick or perfect Christian, whom he makes subject to no passions, and insensible both of bodily pleasure and pain, as he pretends our Saviour was, (contrary to his own express words, *Matt. xxvi. 38.*) and his Apostles also after his resurrection. Christ, he says, had no occasion to eat or drink for the nourishment of his body; and if he did, it was only that he might not pass for a ghost. Yet we read that he was hungry in the wilderness, where he was all alone, and that to satisfy his appetite Angels ministered unto him. Besides this, he mixes many of the other ridiculous doctrines of that sect with these of the Christian Religion. He  
also



also justifies the idolatry of the heathens in adoring the sun, moon and stars, which, he says, God made for that purpose, lest they being entirely without any Deity should be irrecoverably lost, and that beginning with the worship of the stars, they might from thence rise to that of the true God. He believed the salvation of heathens, as is clear from his works, and looked upon philosophy as the means God had given them for that end. But considering that philosophy was not attainable by all men, he contrived the above-mentioned method as more convenient and easy for the vulgar and the ignorant, founding it upon a misinterpretation of *Deut. iv. 19.* But enough of this Father ; let us next hear

5. Tertullian, who absolutely condemns every art, employment, profession or commerce, which deals in things whereof the Pagans could possibly make any idolatrous use. According to this principle a christian ought not to sell wine, arms, nor any thing, however good or useful in itself that may be employ'd to a bad purpose : and is there any thing incapable of being abused? In consequence hereof he looks upon a military life as incompatible with the rules of the Gospel ; and, says he, our Saviour by disarming *Peter*, has at the same time disarmed all soldiers, and no law can make this act lawful, which is entirely *unlawful*. He condemns it as an act of idolatry in a christian soldier to stand sentry before a Pagan temple. He makes it sinful to adorn the gates of one's house with lamps and laurel on any public occasion of joy, though commanded by the Emperor ; and that only because the heathens worshipped Dæmons as pre-  
siding

siding over gates and door posts : nay, he even makes the master guilty if his servants should do such a thing without his knowledge or consent. He allows one may say, *The temple of Esculapius*, but thinks it impious to say, *The temple of the God Esculapius*, though it signifies the very same thing. He condemns the wearing of all crowns, particularly chaplets of flowers, because the Scripture no where allows it, as also because it is contrary to nature. ‘For, says he, it is as  
 ‘absurd to wear flowers upon one’s head, where  
 ‘we can neither see nor smell them, the only  
 ‘uses they were designed for, as it would be to  
 ‘pretend to hear with one’s nose. Now every  
 ‘thing that is contrary to nature ought to be  
 ‘esteemed monstrous by all men, but sacrilegious  
 ‘by Christians, as being contrary to God the au-  
 ‘thor of nature. In another place, he laughs at those who wear garlands, as if they could smell the scent of flowers with their hair. In this he agrees with Clement of Alexandria and Minutius Felix. Tertullian is also a great enemy to all plays and spectacles : he says the devil puts on the actor’s buskins, which he reckons it unlawful to wear, because it is giving the lye to our Saviour, who told us *that we could not add one cubit to our stature*. He censures those severely who accept of publick employments, especially in the Courts of Justice ; looking upon it as inconsistent with the profession of a Christian to have the least hand in the condemnation or punishment of any criminal ; and because the *Purple robe*, the *Pretextæ*, *Trabeæ*, *Laticlavi* and *Fasces*, were all originally consecrated to idolatry. ‘Christ, says he, rejected  
 ‘the glory of this world, because he did not ap-  
 ‘prove it, and by rejecting it condemned it, and  
 ‘there-

‘ thereby looked upon it as the pomp of the devil. For he would not have condemned any thing but what did not belong to him ; and what is not God’s, can be none but the devil’s. He makes all Magistrates the colleagues of the devils, who are the magistrates of this world. The Fathers, though they generally chimed in with Tertullian till Constantine’s reign, yet then readily changed their note, and employed all their eloquence to show that he might be the *Governor of this world*, as they called him, and a good Christian too.

Tertullian had the same notions of Marriage in general as the rest of the Fathers. Writing to his wife concerning the state after the resurrection, he says, we shall not then make use of any *voluptuous turpitude* ; for God does not promise such trifling, such *filthy* things to his people. In answer to those who defended second Marriages by a pretence that they wanted children, and had not the gift of continence, he rejects these reasons, and compares the persons who alledged them to the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorra, of whom by mistake he makes our Saviour say what he said of the men before the flood, that *they were marrying and buying*, &c. which, adds he, denotes the two greatest vices of the flesh and of the world. — How then can it be thought that God does not now forbid us to practise, what in that blind and unenlightened age was so *detestable* to him ? Again, he affirms that second Marriages make *a great breach in the faith*, and are *very contrary to holiness*. And because one Hermogenes had been married several times, and thought it lawful, he says he perverted the law of God to authorize his *uncleanness*, that he was nothing but a complication

tion of *adulteries* of the Gospel, as well as of the *flesh*, and that he *stunk* with the *infection* of *matrimony*.

The same Father condemns flying from persecution, and the defence of our persons or our goods. We ought not even to be sorry for the loss of them, for that is covetousness, the root of all evil, and a direct offence against God, as preferring earthly things to heavenly. And if any one attacks our persons, or even our lives, we must not return evil for evil : for though the aggressor is guilty of a crime in assaulting us, yet if we repel force by force, as our action is the same with his, it is equally criminal. We ought therefore to *suffer all things* ; *not to judge lest we be judged*, but leave the matter to God ; and therefore if any man robs us of our coat, we must give him our cloak too, and if he strikes us on one cheek, present the other to him.

I thought to have gone through all this book at once, but I find my Extract swell unexpectedly upon me, which obliges me to stop here for the present.



## ARTICLE XXXI.

*The WORKS of TACITUS. Volume I. containing the Annals. To which are prefixed political Discourses upon that Author.*

Art. 31. *the Republick of Letters.* 469

*thor. London: printed for Thomas*

*Woodward and John Peele. 1728.*

*The Discourses make 124 pages, and the Translation 479 in Folio.*

**G**OOD Translations from the learned Languages are of manifest and great use. They not only contribute to the improvement of those who cannot otherwise come at the valuable treasures which lie concealed in the original; but they also clear up the sense of ancient Authors much better than those large notes and voluminous commentaries with which they are at present overwhelmed. Several Moderns seem to be engaged in mortal war with these old giants, and 'tis to be feared that in an age or two they will entirely subdue them, if they continue heaping such loads of learned lumber on their backs. *Mole ruent suâ.* Another great advantage of translations from the Classics is, that they tend to refine and enrich our own language, by infusing into it the graceful eloquence and manly strength of the originals. The method which that great master Cicero took to improve himself and the language of his country, was by studying the Greek writers, and sometimes translating them, sometimes paraphrasing them in Latin, from which he tells us, and we easily see, he reaped the greatest advantage.

Translations being therefore of such considerable use, I cannot but wonder that in England the learned and polite Authors of Greece and Rome should hitherto have generally been left to the mercy of hackney scriblers, who are ei-

JUNE 1728.

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ther incapable of doing them justice, or at least have no encouragement to endeavour it : for the Bookfellers, by whom they are hired, commonly pay them by the number of sheets only, without any regard to the true merit of the work.

It is not indeed an easy matter to translate well. To fit a man for such an undertaking, he must be a compleat master not only of his Author's language, but of his own ; he must be acquainted with the laws, customs, and rites of his Author's country, but he ought also to know the world, and to have conversed with the polite part of it, especially at home ; and withal, he ought to have studied the subject thoroughly. In short, a Translator is pretty much in the same case with an Actor : They must both possess themselves with their parts, and enter into the sentiments of the character they are to represent ; this will naturally lead to express them with propriety and grace, which are never to be otherwise attained.

As these qualifications, though rarely united, are yet necessary to form a good Translator, one who can maintain the air and dignity of an original, without sinking into a servile imitation, they are particularly so with regard to Tacitus ; and therefore as his works are among the most precious remains of antiquity, I congratulate my countrymen upon this translation of his *Annals* by so judicious and masterly a hand as Mr. Gordon, whose capacity and talents for this work have long been known to the world, and induced several of the best judges to engage him in it.

The *Annals* themselves need no character to recommend them at this time of day ; nor have I room here to say what they deserve. I shall only inform the English reader, that in them

he will find painted in the strongest and most lively colours all the horrible consequences, to a State, of corruption, of civil discord, of servile flattery, of arbitrary power, and tyranny its inseparable companion ; a picture which can never be too often set before the eyes of an Englishman. Hence he will learn to prize and to preserve the inestimable blessings of our own Constitution, and to honour the faithful Patriot, and the Royal Guardian of our Liberties: Hence he will be animated with the justest resentment against those unspirited slaves, who would tamely give them up to hereditary right and passive Obedience, or more basely betray them for a reward ; who have not the courage, even in speculation, to assert the common privileges of human nature, of universal nature. O sacred Liberty ! Thou Soul of Happiness ! *Tecum vivere amem ; tecum moriar libens.*

The works of Tacitus have been often translated into many languages, seldom well into any, into ours worst of all. The first English translation was made in Q. Elizabeth's reign, that of the Annals by one Greenway, and four books of the History by the learned Sir Henry Savill. About 100 years after them another was undertaken by several hands, among whom was Mr. Dryden. Both these Mr. Gordon shows to be exceeding low, defective, and wretched, without language, sense or decency. All the French translations of this Author are very indifferent, except two ; the first is of the whole, by Harlay de Chanvallon, which is vigorous and just, like that of a man of good sense and observation : the other is done by Amelot de la Houffaye, who has gone no further than the

13th Annal; nor has he any advantage over the former, but that his French is more modern, if that be any. There are three very good versions of Tacitus in Spanish by Sueyro, Coloma, and Don Alamos de Barrientos, the last of which is reckoned the best; his language is strong, and opens the sentiments of Tacitus fully, often over-fully. In this he differs from the Italian translation by Politi, which though it reads well, yet hampers the thoughts of Tacitus, and by an affectation of being as concise as the original, loses much of its weight and spirit: yet it is the best in that language.

Mr. Gordon speaking of his own translation, has these words: "Our tongue is naturally cold, and the less force our words have, the more they must be multiplied: this multiplying of words is tedious; thence the remedy is as bad as the disease. The Latin phrases, on the contrary, are short and lively, and a few words convey many images. These difficulties, with many others, I found in this translation very sensibly. I wanted new words, but have rarely coined any, as the creating of words is generally thought affected and foppish: yet I have sometimes ventured upon a new phrase, and a way of my own; upon drawing the English idiom as near as possible to that of the Latin, and to the genius of my author; by leaving the beaten road, dropping particles, transposing words, and beginning a sentence where it is usual to end it. I have studied to imitate the spirit, eloquence, and turns of Tacitus, as far as I could, assisted by a language weak in its sounds, and loose in its contexture. This manner of writing, I own, would be  
I  
" strange



“ strange and even ridiculous in plain and familiar subjects ; but where the subject is high and solemn, there must be a conformity of stile.”

That my Readers may now judge for themselves how Mr. Gordon has succeeded, and what preference is due to his translation above the rest, I shall here give a specimen of the best in each language. It is taken from the III<sup>d</sup> Annals, Chap. 50. of

## TACITUS.

Si, Patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce † Lutorius Priscus mentem suam, & aures hominum polluerit ; neq; carcer, neq; laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffecerint. Sin flagitia & facinora sine modo sunt ; suppliciis & remediis, principis moderatio, majorumq; & vestra exempla temperant ; & vana à scelestis, dicta à maleficiis differunt : est locus sententiæ, per quam neq; huic delictum impune sit, & nos clementiæ simul ac severitatis non poeniteat. Sæpe audiivi principem nostrum conquerentem, si quis sumpta morte misericordiam ejus prævenisset. Vita Lutorij in integro est, qui neq; servatus in periculum reipub. neq; interfectus in exemplum ibit. studia ejus ut plena vecordia, ita inania

† This C. Lutorius Priscus was accused by an informer of having written and read to some Ladies a Poem upon the death of Drusus, while he was yet ill, with a design to publish it, if his distemper proved mortal.

& fluxa sunt : nec quidquam grave ac ferium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor, non virorum animis, sed muliercularum adrepat. Cedat tamen urbe, & bonis amissis aqua & igni arceatur. Quod perinde censeo ac si lege majestatis teneretur.

*The FRENCH by La Houffaye.*

SI nous considérons seulement avec quelle hardiesse Lutorius Priscus a souillé sa pensée & les oreilles de ses auditeurs, ni la prison, ni la corde, ni même les supplices des esclaves, ne feront pas une punition suffisante. Mais quoique les crimes soient aujourd'hui sans nombre & sans mesure, la moderation du prince, l'exemple de nos ancêtres, & votre prudence, ne souffrent pas que les peines aillent à la dernière rigueur. La vanité est différente de la scélératesse, & les paroles ne se punissent pas comme les actions. On peut ouvrir un avis, par lequel le coupable soit puni, sans que nous ayons lieu de nous repentir, ni de notre indulgence, ni de notre sévérité. J'ai souvent ouï le prince se plaindre de ceux qui par leur desespoir avoient prévenu sa clemence. Donnons donc la vie à Lutorius, qui ne peut ni servir d'exemple, quand on le fera mourir, ni troubler le repos public, quand on le laissera vivre. Car qu'y a-t-il à craindre d'un homme, qui s'occupe à des choses vaines & frivoles, & qui se trahissant lui-même, va débiter ses folies aux femmes, parce que il n'ose s'adresser aux hommes. Chassons-le de la villa, ôtons-lui ses biens, interdisons lui le feu & l'eau. Je ne parlerois pas autrement, quand il seroit criminel de lèze-majesté.

*The SPANISH by Don Alamas.*

SI nosotros, Padres conscriptos, miramos esto solo, de quanto aya manchado Lutorio Prisco su entendimiento con su malvada lengua; y quanto aya ofendido las oreias de los hombres; no ay carcel, ni cordel, ni aun los castigos, y muertes ordenados para los esclavos, que bastasen contra el. Pero si los vicios, y excessos, y las maldades son sin medida, ni termino; y la moderacion del principe, y vuestros exemplos, y los de vuestros mayores las tiemplan con los castigos, y remedios, y si difieren las cosas vanas de las malvadas, y los excessos de palabra de los delitos que consisten en obra: bien puede en este caso tener lugar una sentencia, por la qual su delito deste no se passe sin ser castigado por el; y nosotros no nos pese de aver usado en un mismo punto de clemencia, y severidad. Muchos vezes he oido querer a nuestro principe de los que se avien quitado la vida con sus manos, sin querer dar lugar a su misericordia. La vida de Cayo Lutorio se està entera, y el ni que se la concedamos, no pondra en peligro a la republica; ni quando le matemos, servirà de exemplo para nadie. Los estudios en que este se exercita, assi como son llenos de locura, assi tambien son vanos, sin sustancia, y no permanentes. Y no ay porque temais que del proceda ninguna cosa grave, ni de veras; pues siendo el mismo el descubridor de sus excessos, y pecados, no las ha pretendido meter, ni poner en animos de varones, si no de mugercillas (flacas). Pero con todo esto salga desterrado de la ciudad, y con perdimiento de bienes le sea prohibida la agua, y el fuego. Lo qual yo

voto (que se le de por) pena, de la misma fuerte que si havieste delinquido contra la ley de la magestad.

*The ITALIAN* by Adriano Politi,

SE noi padri coscritti, considerassimo queste solo, con quai nefande parole Lutorio Prisco habbia imbrattata la mente sua, e l'orecchie de gli huom ni, ne la carcere, ne il laccio, ne anco i tormenti servili basterebbono contro di lui. Ma se i delitti, e le sceleratezze sono senza modo, la mansuetudine del principe, l'esempio de' maggiori, e il vostro, gli vadano temperando, con i supplitij, e con i rimedij, e facciasi differenza da' vani, a' malitiosi, dalle parole a' misfatti. Può ben' haver qui luogo una sentenza, per la quale ne in costui resti il delitto impunito, ne in voi pentimento di troppa clemenza, o di troppo rigore. Hò sentito spesso dolerli il nostro principe, di chi hà voluto, e darli la morte, prevenire la sua misericordia. Concedasi la vita a Lutorio, poiche ne il conservarlo puo portar danno alla repubblica, ne dar' esempio l'ucciderlo; i suoi studij, si come sono nien sciocchezze, cosi sono vani, e transitorij: ne si può temer di cose gravi, o importanti, da chi da se stesso va scoprendo i propri difetti, e cerca d'acquistarsi gli animi non de gli huomini, ma delle donne; Bandiscasi però di Roma, perda la robba, e se gli proibisca acqua e fuoco, che è come condannarlo di lesa majesta.

*The ENGLISH from the late translation by several hands.*

IF we consider only how Lutorius Priscus hath debauched his mind and his auditors ears, neither prison, nor halter, nor any servile punishments were enough for him. But though his crimes are without measure, yet the moderation of a prince, their own and your ancestors examples, will qualify the punishment. Vanity differs from wickedness, and words from ill deeds. There may such a way be found to punish him, that we may neither repent our clemency, nor severity. I have heard our princes complain, when any through despair have prevented their mercy. Lutorius's Life is yet safe ; and the preserving it will neither endanger the commonwealth, nor can the taking it away be any example. As his studies were full of folly, so were they senseless, and soon over. Neither have we reason to fear any thing great or serious in one that betrays himself to the women. Let him leave the city, his goods be seiz'd, and he banish'd ; which I take to be as bad as if he was convict of treason.

*By Mr. Gordon.*

CONSCRIPT Fathers, if we only regard, with what abominable effusions Lutorius Priscus has defiled his own soul and the ears of men ; neither dungeon, nor rope, nor indeed the punishments peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But tho' wickedness and enormities abound without measure ; yet since in coercions and penalties we must observe the limits set by

by the moderation of the prince, set by precedents made by our ancestors and your selves; and since we must distinguish the vanity of the head from the malignity of the heart, and words from evil doings: there is room left for a middle judgment, by which neither his offence need escape unpunish'd, nor we repent of our tenderness or severity. I have often heard our Prince complain, when any criminal had, by a desperate death, prevented his mercy. The Life of Lutorius is still untouch'd; to save it, will no ways endanger the State, nor will the taking it away have any influence upon others. His studies, as they are full of wildness, are likewise empty and perishing: neither is ought important or terrible to be apprehended from one who thus betrays his own follies, and makes his court not to the minds of men, but the imaginations of Women: let him however be expelled Rome, interdicted from fire and water, and his estate be forfeited: which judgment of mine is the same as if he were charged with high treason.

Mr. Gordon has prefixed to his translation some political discourses, which require and deserve more room than I can at present allow them, and must therefore be delayed till another opportunity.

A R.



## ARTICLR XXXII.

P. PAPINII STATII *Silvarum Libri* quinque. Ex vetustis Exemplaribus recensuit, & Notas atque Emendationes adjecit Jer. Marklandus, Coll. Sancti Petri Cantabrig. Socius. Londini 1728.

That is,

*The Miscellanies of STATIUS in 2 vol. whereof the first contains the Text in pagg. 165. with a Preface of 22 : the second contains the Notes and Emendations in pagg. 352.*

**P.** PAPINIUS STATIUS, a Neapolitan, flourished about 82 Years after Christ, and was in high favour with the Emperor Domitian. He is reckoned a Poet of a sublime and towering genius, whence some have given him the title of *Equus alatus*. He is thought to have come the nearest of any to the majesty of Virgil, next to whom he is by some \* esteemed the chief of all the Epic Poets, whether Greek or Latin. To me he seems very

\* Scalig. Hypercrit. c. 6.

often

often to swell into bombast, and as often to sink into the profound, and oftner to trifle. What must we say of these three lines in his first Eclogue upon Domitian's horse?

*Hunc neque divisis cepissent Pergama muris,  
Nec grege permixto pueri innuptaque puella,  
Ipse nec Aeneas, nec magnus duceret Hector.*

Is not the first bombast, the second trifling, and the last silly and low? There is neither truth nor justness in the thoughts. I could give many more examples were this a proper place for them. Statius wrote a Poem called *The Thebaid* in 12 books, and another called *The Achilleid* in 2 books, besides these five of small poems on several subjects; all of them published with large *Notæ Variorum*. Notwithstanding which, as indeed it commonly happens, Mr. Markland found his *Silvæ* still very corrupt, and to stand in great need of the Critic's severest art. To say the truth, he must have had a great deal of courage to undertake the restoring a work so obscure in itself, and so mangled by others. How he has succeeded must be left to the judgment of the learned. He himself seems very confident that of 500 places which were before unintelligible, he has not left 40 unamended. If so the greater praise is due to him, seeing the Corrections he has made are chiefly *ex ingenio & conjectura*, there being no MS. copies of this book in England, and indeed very few any where. However he owns himself much indebted to two old and valuable editions, which the Commentators before him do not seem to have seen, or even heard of. The one was printed at Venice, A. 1472, and is in the D.

of



of Devonshire's library; the other was printed at Parma, A. 1473, and belongs to the E. of Sunderland; both of them in folio.

Mr. Markland has also occasionally corrected several Passages in Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and the other Latin Poets: as for Instance, the common editions of Silius Italicus X. 133. make him say of Annibal,

*Ni leto det cuncta virum, jungatque parenti  
Corpora, & excidat miseros cum stirpe penates.*

for *Corpora* he reads *Pignora* i. e. *liberos*. But I very much doubt, whether *pignora* can be used so absolutely for *liberi*. I would read *parentum* for *parenti*, so that the sense would be, *ni excidat omnes viros, una cum eorum parentibus & liberis*.

Propert. IV. 4. de Tarpeja:

*Dixit & incerto permisit brachia somno.*

for *brachia* our Critic reads *lumina* or *pectora*.

Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. I. 229. speaking of Inuus or Pan.

*Præsidet exigui formatus imagine sacri*

*Qui pastorali nomina fronte gerit.*

for *nomina* Mr. Markland reads *cornua*.

Val. Flac. II. 324.

—— *Venus ipsa volens dat tempora jungi*

*Dum vires utero, maternaque sufficit ætas.*

he is speaking of Marriage, and therefore instead of *tempora* Mr. Markland reads *fœdera*.

Virgil. Æneid. XII. 518.

—— *piscosæ cui circum flumina lernæ*

*Ars fuerat, pauperque domus; nec nota potentum  
Munera.*

for

for the last word Mr. Markland reads *Limina*, which is certainly more natural and proper, as *limina potentium* is a very common expression both in Poetry and Prose. The same Poet in *Æneid*. VII. 593. has

*Multa Deos Aurasque pater testatus inanes  
Frangimur heu ventis, inquit, ferimurque pro-  
cella.*

for *Auras* Mr. Markland substitutes *Aras*, and justifies it by parallel places : but what means *Aras inanes* ? Virgil. *Æneid*. VI. p. 378. says of *Palinurus*,

*Nam tua Finitimi, longè latèque per urbes  
Prodigiis acti cælestibus, ossa piabunt.*

“ This Passage, says Mr. Markland, contains a  
“ very great Absurdity. For if they were *fini-*  
“ *timi*, how could they be *longè latèque per urbes* ?

“ ’Tis just as if he had said *Finitimi longinqui*,  
“ which I should think a very odd expression.”

Why so it is indeed, though a *distant Neighbour* is not nonsense ; but if it be, ’tis all Mr. Markland’s own, not Virgil’s. He did not say, *finitimi longè latèque per urbes*, but *finitimi* [*populi*] *acti prodigiis cælestibus longè latèque per urbes, ossa tua piabunt*. Pray, are not the Dutch *finitimi* to the French, and yet may not one say of Lewis XIV. *incendiis atque ferro longè latèque per urbes Bataviæ grassatus est* ? or, did not Cromwell carry fire and sword *longè latèque per urbes Britanniae*, without going to any *finitimi longinqui* ? Our Critic’s learned friend had therefore very good reason to dissuade him from the Temerity of making so free with Virgil. Mr. Markland however is so little daunted by his Remonstrance, that he farther declares there  
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are a great many verses in that divine Poem, which he, though a very bad Poet, would not suffer to appear in any composition of his own, and tells us he has a pretty large collection of them by him. I heartily wish he would publish them ; they would entertain the curious, and perhaps undeceive the prejudiced : but it will be prudent in him to be sure he has better foundations for his censure, especially when he taxes Virgil with nonsense, than I have shown he has above. The art of criticism is undoubtedly of very great use ; we owe to it a great many beauties in the Greek and Roman Authors, which without its assistance must have been utterly lost ; and Mr. Markland seems to have an excellent talent, and sufficient reading, rather too much for it : but at the same time, success is apt to create an itch of criticising, than which nothing is more pernicious to the beauty of Authors, or the reputation of Commentators. It is with this art, as with that of composition ; a writer must not indulge the luxuriance of his imagination too far, but govern and restrain it by reason and judgment. It is urged against the *Æneid*, that Virgil himself when dying ordered it to be burnt ; but had he been the author of the *Silva*, upon which Mr. Markland has employed so much pains and learning, it is more than probable he would not have left the care of committing them to the flames to the Executors of his Will.

Mr. Markland is the Author of the *Epistola Critica*, which he wrote some time ago to Dr. Hare ; and he has dedicated this performance to the same learned Dignitary ; but he  
has

has broke Priscian's head to make the Bishop a compliment ; *unde jam ex superiori loco Religioni isti propugnare possis, quam ex æquo tam feliciter antebac defendisti.* A Roman would have said *Religionem*, or rather *pro Religione propugnare* ; but never *Religioni*. In his preface he tells us, Barthius lost two MSS. of the *Silvæ per flammæ mansioni ejus injectas*. Was Barthius then perusing the MSS. at some Inn upon the road ; and was the Inn *purposely* set on fire ? I take notice of these things, and might mention more, not that I think *bad Grammar*, or *bad Latin* a crime, but to verify the distinction which Mr. Markland makes between understanding the *Latin Poets* and the *Latin Language*, one of which he thinks a man may be thoroughly master of, though he is not of the other ; and to show that criticks of the greatest penetration, and such as are the sharpest-sighted in spying out the errors of others, may sometimes fall into mistakes themselves. Such is the condition of human nature : *sit enim, nescio quomodo, ut magis in aliis cernamus, quam in nobismetipsis.* Cic.

This learned and ingenious Gentleman is at present preparing an edition of Propertius, with short notes ; after which he promises to oblige the world with the other Poems of Statius, and begs the Learned would be so good as to communicate to him what they think may be of use for that purpose.

A R T I-



## ARTICLE XXXIII.

**A**S it is something uncommon and extraordinary for a Roman-Catholick Clergyman to be admitted to Degrees in Divinity by Protestant Universities, the curiours will be pleased to see the following *Diploma* from Oxford, creating F. Le Courayer a Doctor in Divinity, and to observe in his Answer that moderation, charity, and temper concerning religious affairs, which is but rarely to be found in the Clergy of his persuasion, and but too seldom in those of our own.

**CANCELLARIUS, Magistri & Scholares Universitatis Oxon.** Omnibus, ad quos Hæ Literæ pervenerint, Salutem in Domino sempiternam

**C**UM eum in finem Gradus Academici à Majoribus Nostreis instituti fuerint, ut Viri Eruitione præcellentes, & de Ecclesia Christiana optimè meriti à reliquis distinguerentur; CUMQUE Reverendus Clarissimusque Vir P. PETRUS FRANCISCUS COURAYERUS, Abbatiae Sanctæ Genovesæ Paris. Canonicus Regularis, Sacras Episcoporum Nostrorum Ordinationes, quos pro veris indubitatisque Apostolorum Successoribus revereri semper consuevimus, tam strenuè doctèque defenderit, ut è contrâ nil præter aniles

JUNE 1728.

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fabulas reponi possit ; CUM nostram de gravissimis Controversiis Sententiam sic ferè exposuerit, ut Ejus Scripta legentes è Professoribus Nostris quempiam in manibus habere videamur ; CUM in Eo denique summum Ingenii Acumen cum non vulgari Eruditione conjunctum, eximius Animi Candor, & non fictum universas CHRISTI Ecclesias ad Concordiam reducendi Studium, eluceant ; SCIATIS, Nos Cancellarium, Magistros & Scholares antedictos, VIRUM tot tantisque Meritis Illustrem summo, quo potuimus, Honore prosequi volentes, Eundem Reverendum Clarissimumque P. PETRUM FRANCISCUM COURAYERUM, hoc vicesimo octavo die Mensis Augusti, A. D. MDCCXXVII, in solenni ac frequentissimo Doctorum & Magistrorum Senatu unanimi suffragio DOCTOREM in S. S. Theologia constituisse & renunciasse ; Eumq; Omnibus & Singulis Doctoralis in S. S. Theologia Gradus Privilegiis & Honoribus cumulasse. IN cujus Rei Testimonium ac Fidem, Publicum Universitatis Nostræ Oxon. Sigillum his Literis apponi jussimus.

Dat. in domo Convocationis nostræ,  
die annoque supradict.

Dignissimo CANCELLARIO, Doctissimis Magistris & Scholaribus, ac Toti Celeberrimæ Universitati OXONIENSI,

PETRUS FRANCISCUS LE COURAYER, S. Genovesæ Parisiensis Canonicus Regularis ac Bibliothecarius, Gratias humillimas & Salutem perpetuam.

Quod

**Q**UOD hucusque siluerim, Viri Doctissimi, nondumque vobis gratias, ut par erat, retulerim, id præsentī fortī meæ, quæso, condonate. Dum enim aut præcavendis occultis insidiis aut manifestæ vi declinandæ totus incumbo, nec liberum fuit votis meis hac in parte obsequi, nec forte etiam decuit. Ea enim est temporum conditio, & honoris, quo me decorastis, natura, ut, loqui satius sit an silere, videatur incertum.

Nisi gratias pro merito rependerim, velut ingratum me culpabunt omnes. Tanto enim, ut ait Plinius, turpius est gratiam non referre, quanto honestior causa referendæ. Sin autem præstem me beneficii memorem, vix dubito quin mihi crimini vertantur tam iusta grati animi testimonia, novamq; calumniandi ansam præbeam adversariis. Ita est, Viri Clarissimi, nefas propè judicatur communia humanitatis officia in fidei controversiis dissidentibus exhibere; adeoque in Societatibus Christianis partium Studium prævaluit, ut vix liceat sine suspitione laxioris & culpabilis tolerantiae laudare quidquid in parte opposita laudabile est, vel pacificum se præbere varietati sentientibus.

Hujus tamen adoptionis, qua me quanquam in parte aliena viventem & scribentem adjunxistis tot hominibus tota Europa insignibus, qui ex vestra Academia prodierunt, is erit, ut spero, potissimum fructus, ut vestro exemplo boni omnes excitati æquos se vel ipsis præbeant adversariis, certatimque collaborent veritati detegendæ sine pacis præjudicio.

Nullis verbis satis exprimere valeo, Viri Clarissimi, quam grato animi sensu exceperim tam insigne vestræ in me benevolentiae argumentum,

eique subjunctum Diploma, quod, dum fidem meam in exponenda vestra doctrina ab omni adulationis vel alterationis suspitione liberat, malignitatem prodit aut inscitiam Censorum meorum; quibus non satis fuit & me & opus meum quavis arte proscindere, nisi simul tam falso quam temere pronunciarent à vobis ipsis reclamari contra doctrinam, quam pro indubitata & genuina Ecclesiæ vestræ fide dederam.

Eam autem improbitatem, dicamne, an imperitiam tam honorifico Diplomate vestro penitus prodidistis. Si enim aut minus in exponendis sensibus vestris sincerus, aut in alienis affingendis nimis audax fuisset, tantum abest, ut vestro suffragio scripta mea hac in parte munisset, ut potius solemnī improbatione fidem mihi derogando, mendacii aut ad minus temeritatis palam convictus fuisset. Verum eo metu me liberabat religiosa illa anxietas, qua effectum ne aliquid de vestra fide enunciarem, nisi quod aut in monumentis publicis esset consignatum aut laudatum in confessionibus vestris, aut à vestris doctioribus Episcopis & Theologis vel scriptum vel declaratum. Hoc planè vidistis & probastis, Doctores celeberrimi, dum id in me potissimum laudatis, *quod vestram de gravissimis controversiis sententiam sic ferè exposuerim, ut mea scripta legentes è Professoribus vestris quempiam in manibus habere videantur.* Neque revera mihi conscius sum inordinato pacis studio veritatem adulterasse, & alterutrius partis doctrinam unquam aut emoluisse aut corrupisse odii vel affectus præjudicio. Ea quippe Religione tractare debemus quæ ad fidem pertinent, ut nec Charitas errores dissimulet, nec fidei zelus nova dogmata aut comminiscatur aut præscribat.

Uti-



Utinam, Viri sapientissimi, in his rebus, in quibus diffidemus adhuc, hanc nobis regulam mutuo statueremus. Non diu perseveraret luctuosum illud Schisma, quod Ecclesiam varias in partes distraxit; nec dubito, quin, si ex utraque parte singuli in Spiritu pacis & studio Charitatis inquirendæ veritati incumberemus, ad paucissima Capita brevi contraheretur tota illa Controversiarum congeries, quæ Religionem corrumpit & dedecorat.

His imminuendis forsan non inutilis erit ea, quam suscepi vestrarum Ordinationum Defensio, excitabitque alios nova capita pari successu & majori dexteritate tractare. Opus sanè Christianis Theologis quoquo modo tentandum, eoque Academia vestra dignius, quod semper viris doctis & eruditis referta tanto plus potest in promovenda pace, quanto & in versanda antiquitate exercitior, & in profitenda veritate liberior.

Nihil aliud ad vestræ famæ cumulum magis conferre potest; atque, cum ad gloriæ communis participationem meipsum adjunxistis, finite me, Magistri Doctissimi, tantisper hortari vos ad tanti operis explorandum successum. Erunt enim præclari Conatus, etiamsi non succedant, Favebo certè cœptis pro viribus, ac ultro veniam in partem laboris & periculi, si quæ Spes asfulgeat partium conciliandarum aut tentandæ pacis.

Id semper potissimum erit in votis, nec ulla alia re melius Academiæ vestræ significare possum, quantum illi me debere profitear pro colato beneficio, quantique faciam Doctos illos, quibus immeritum me socium adjunxistis. Et si enim paribus Officiis difficile sit amoris vestro respondere, perpetuo tamen studio & singulari ob-

servantiæ genere gratum me præbere nunquam  
desinam. Valete, Venerabiles Viri, meque om-  
nium vestrum existimate

Humillimum ac

obsequentissimum Servum,

Dabam Hannemonte,  
prope S. German-  
num in Laya, Ca-  
lend. Dec. 1727.

P. F. LE COURAYER.



## ARTICLE XXXIV.

### R O M E.

**A**CHATES ISIACUS *Annularis Commenta-  
riolo illustratus, prodit ex Musæo illustris-  
simi Marchionis Alexandri Gregorii CAPPONII.  
in 4to. pagg. 20.* The Author of this Disserta-  
tion is M. Fontanini, Archbishop of Ancyra.  
He has employed a great deal of learning and  
criticism on the bird which is placed on the  
forepart of the head of the pretended Isis,  
which it wholly covers with its beautiful fea-  
thers. He enquires whether this bird be the  
*Gallina guttata, Meleagris, Avis asra, Africana  
Numidica.*

### H E L M S T A D T.

**T**HE Abbot Molheim is translating *Cud-  
worth's Works* into Latin, and *Woolaston's  
Reli-*

*Religion of Nature delineated* into German, with his own Remarks upon both.

## Z E R B S T.

**M.** Van Bafhuyfen will speedily publish a Treatise on the *Jewish Ablutions: De omnibus lavacris & lotionibus Hebræorum, eorumque mysterio.* This Gentleman has lately distinguished himself by asserting the authority of Reason, and the usefulness of the *Belles Lettres* in matters of Religion.

## A N S P A C H.

**M.** Neukirch, an excellent Poet, has translated *Telemachus* into German verse.

## G E N E V A.

**T**HE Works of both the Fathers *Pagi* are in the press. To *the Critick upon Baronius his Annals* in this Edition, will be added *A Dissertation concerning the Roman Consuls.*

## L E Y D E N.

**S**OME time ago were published here, *Joannis Baptistæ Morgagni, primarii Professoris Patavini, & Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Sodalis, Epistolæ Anatomicæ duæ, novas Observationes & Animadversiones complectentes, quibus Anatome augetur, Anatomicorum inventorum historia evolvitur, utraque ab erroribus vindicatur.* in 4to.

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The name of the celebrated Author of these Letters, is sufficient to recommend them to curious Anatomists. They are published, it seems, without Mr. Morgagni's consent, by a Friend to whom they were written on occasion of M. Bianchi's *Historia Hepatica*. Those who love to learn at other people's cost, will find their account in these Letters, in which and in the Publisher's preface poor M. Bianchi is most unmercifully handled. For he is charged with no less than bad Latin, want of judgment, care, memory, and honour. At the end are added two Letters from other hands, which are not more favourable to his reputation than the former. Good judges however say, that there are some useful practical things in his book.

II. M. de Gorter, who about two years ago wrote a Treatise of insensible Perspiration, has published here another *De Secretione Humorum e Sanguine, ex Solidorum Fabrica præcipue & Humorum Indole demonstrata; cui accessit ejusdem Oratio de dirigendo Studio in Medicinæ Praxi. Lugd. Bat. 1721. in 8vo.* It is divided into two parts; in the first he lays down certain principles relating to the nature of the Blood, and the figure and dimensions of the Vessels, from which, in the second, he deduces the several Secretions performed in the body.

## A M S T E R D A M.

**M**onsieur Le Clerc intends to lay aside his *Bibliothèque ancienne & moderne*, that he may apply himself entirely to the finishing of his

his Commentaries on the old Testament, having already published those on the Pentateuch and the historical books. They would have appeared sooner, it seems, but that he was interrupted by writing the *History of the United Provinces*, which is now ready for the press. The books called *Hagiographi* are to come out first, and to be speedily followed by the Prophets. He proposes to explain obscure passages by such truths as are universally acknowledged ; to apply to doctrines that are generally approved some texts which are not commonly thought to relate to them ; to show that several passages must be otherwise explained than they have been hitherto understood ; and withal assures us we shall meet with nothing of that spirit of controversy which prevails too much among Christians, and tends more to the breeding and fomenting of strifes and divisions which dishonour Christianity, than to discover and recommend truth. He thinks the mistakes others have fallen into, in their explications of Scripture, arise often from their not examining and rightly applying the ancient history, customs and opinions of the Eastern nations, the situation of places, and the manners of neighbouring countries.

## H A G U E.

**W**E see here in 12<sup>o</sup> the *Remarks of an anonymous Traveller upon Holland, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Afric, Brasil, and some Islands of the Mediterranean : containing an exact account of their Government, Commerce, Strength and Manners, with the characters of several eminent persons now living.*

Also,

Also, *Memoires de la derniere Guerre d' Italia*, with critical and military observations, in 12°.

## P A R I S.

I. **T**HE celebrated Dr. *Silva*, Physician to his Majesty, has published a Treatise *De l'usage des differentes sortes de Saignees, principalement celles du pied*. Two Volumes 8vo.

II. We see here a *Critique* upon the Travels of Cyrus by the Abbè de Fontaine, Ex-jesuit, and Critic general of all works of any note. 'Tis a very harmless piece, it seems, though there be more ill than good in it of any kind.

III. M. du Puy has published *Reflexions sur l'amitié*. in 12°.

IV. *L'Art d'orner l'esprit en l'amusant*, in two Volumes 12°. by Mr. Gayot de Pitaval. This is a fine enticing title, but 'tis only a collection of facetious tales, repartees and epigrams, which may indeed amuse a Reader when he has the spleen, but cannot improve his mind any further than to make him a wit by rote: however, I would not discourage it; for as this is all that most men can pretend to, so these half-witted Gentlemen are sometimes of use, like repeating Watches, and help by the means of such books to enliven conversation a little, which would otherwise soon grow flat, and time pass heavily away, were they to be always silent, and much more so, were they to speak only their own sentiments.

VI. F. La-

V. F. Labat is publishing *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* in 5 Vol. 12°. He never was there himself, but takes his Materials from Writings of good Credit. He formerly obliged the Public with *Voyages des Isles de l'Amerique*, which met with a very good Reception.

VI. A small Book in 12° lately published here under the Title of *Avis d'une mere à son Fils, & à sa Fille*, has been so well received that the first Edition of it was immediately sold off. It is written by the Marchioness Lambert, a Lady of great Reading, and a fine Taste, joined to a vast deal of Wit.

## EDINBURGH.

JAMES Anderfon Esq; has published a very curious *Collection relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland* in 4 vol. in 4° containing a great Number of Original Papers never before printed; also a few Scarce Pieces reprinted from the best Copies, with an Explanatory Index of the Obsolete Words, and Prefaces shewing the Importance of these Collections. Pere d'Orleans \* observes, that the Story of this unfortunate Princess is among the Things that are taught Children from the Cradle, to make them fall in Love with Books and reading. And indeed it is full of more extraordinary Events and surprising Incidents than are to be met with

\* *Revolut. d'Anglet.* T. II. an. 1567.

in any Piece of History, ancient or modern. However, both her Story and her Character have been so variously misrepresented by all that have wrote as well in favour of her, as against her, that the ingenious Author thought it necessary to set them in a clear Light by publishing all the Original Papers and Records he could meet with, relating to her Affairs ; which he tells us *will discover the Arts and Stretches that have been made use of to deny or disguise some facts, and to forge and invent others for abusing and deceiving the World.* Mr. Anderson, I am told, spent near 30 years upon this work with incredible Industry.

The same ingenious Gentleman was also employed by the Parliament of Scotland to collect and publish the ancient *Charters, Seals, Coins, and Medals* of that Kingdom, a laborious and expensive Work, being all done on Copper Plates, whereof 150 are already engraven by that excellent Artist Mr. Sturt. Mr. Anderson is lately dead ; but his Son having been brought up to the same Studies, will finish the Work.

II. *A new Account of the East Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alex. Hamilton*, who spent his Time there from the Year 2688 to 1723, trading and travelling by Sea and Land to most of the Countries of Commerce and Navigation between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Japan. In 2 Vol. 8°.

L O N D O N.

**M**R. Reading, Keeper of the Library at Sion College, which belongs to the Clergy



gy of this City, has published a beautiful Edition of Origen ΠΕΡΙ ΒΤΧΗΣ, corrected from the Stockholm MS. in the Library of Trinity-College, Cambridge; to which he has added the *Scholia* of an anonymous writer upon the Lord's Prayer, together with some critical and explanatory Notes by a Learned Gentleman. 1728, in 8°. The Editor tells us, That this Book was printed some time ago at Oxford from the same MS. and from that Edition reprinted at *Basil*. It would have done no harm to have been a little more exact, and to have informed those who do not know it that the Oxford Edition was the first that ever appeared of this Book; that it was printed in 1686, in 12°; that the Edition of *Basil* was in 1694, in 4°. by Jo. Rudolph Wetstein the Son; and that notwithstanding this, we find the name of Amsterdam in the Title Pages of some Copies of the *Basil* Edition. He is more particular in giving an Account of the MS. which he does in the Words of the famous *Huet*, who published Origen's *Commentaries on Matthew* from it. That Writer tells us " He found it in  
 " Q. Christina's Library at Stockholm in Swede-  
 " land, whither it had been brought by Isaac  
 " Vossius. He it seems had purchased it at  
 " the Hague, of one Rumfius, Physician to Eliz.  
 " Q. of Bohemia, who brought it out of Ger-  
 " many, where he had bought it for a Trifle of  
 " some Soldiers after the plundering the Libra-  
 " ry of Worms. Vossius having carried it into  
 " Swedeland, made a Present of it to the Queen,  
 " who, upon her abdicating the Government  
 " sometime after carried it to Antwerp with  
 " the rest of her Library. There Vossius pre-  
 " vailed

“ vailed with her to return it to him, and having lent it to Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who intended an Edition of all Origen’s Works, it remained in his Possession.” It is marked on the Title Page of the MS. that it was presented by Vossius to Thorndike, and by him left to Trinity College in Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow. Tho’ this MS. be not a very correct one, yet it is very valuable, as being the only one that is left of this Piece of Origen’s. The Editor pretends that he has corrected all the Errors of former Editions, and left none but those of the MS. itself, which however he has endeavoured to amend in the Notes. He has also polished, and corrected the Latin Version where there was occasion for it, and supplied it in some places where it was wanting.

II. The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry has published *A Vindication of his Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the old Testament*, in Answer to *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, together with a Letter from the Reverend and Learned Mr. Masson, concerning the Religion of Macrobius, and his Testimony touching the Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem; with a Postscript upon Virgils IVth Eclogue. In 2 Vol. 8°.

III. We see here a new and curious Book entitled, *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding* in 8°. It is supposed to be written by the learned Dr. Brown, Bishop of Cork, who some years ago wrote *A Letter in answer to a Book entitled, Christianity not mysterious, &c.* And in this Work, which is levelled  
against

against all in general who set up for Reason and Evidence against Revelation and Mystery, he builds upon the same Foundation he had laid in that Letter ; viz. a Distinction between *Proper* and *Immediate* Ideas, such as we have of the things of this World, and those Ideas which are *Mediate* only and *Improper*, such as we necessarily form of the things of another World. We are under a necessity of conceiving all supernatural Things by *Analogy*, that is, by the Mediation and Substitution of those Ideas we have of our selves, and of all other things of Nature. This Distinction, says he, is absolutely necessary, in order to apprehend clearly and distinctly where *Knowledge* ends, and *Faith* begins.

IV. There is published a Work of the late ingenious Virtuoso Dr. Woodward with this Title : *Fossils of all Kinds digested into a Method suitable to their mutual Relation and Affinity ; with the Names by which they were known to the Ancients, and those by which they are at this Day known ; Notes conducing to the setting forth the natural History, and the main Uses, of some of the most considerable of them. And also several Papers tending to the farther Advancement of the Knowledge of Minerals, of the Ores of Metals, and of all other subterraneous Productions.* In 8°.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**S**OME Objections having been made to the Rule for estimating the mean Value or Length of Generations in p. 261. Note y. of this Volume, I think it not improper here to vindicate and illustrate what I there advanced.

It

It is pretended that the Length of a Generation depends entirely upon the Number of Tears to which men commonly live, which in the earlier Ages of the World, 'tis said, was much greater than now. I deny it, and affirm, that it depends upon the time of their marrying. Let us suppose, 1. That all Men at a Medium live to a certain age, as great as you please; for example to 100 years. 2. That at a Medium all Men marry at a certain age, suppose 30, and that the eldest Son is born the same Tear. Now these two things being supposed, if A. was born in 1700; he must die in 1800: he married, and his eldest Son B. was born in 1730. B. must die then in 1830. His second Son C. was born (suppose) in 1732, he must die then in 1832, and so on. Thus you see the Son must die just as long after the Father, as he was born after him. Consequently the mean Length of Generations does not depend on the ordinary Length of Lives, but upon the ordinary time of Peoples marrying; and Generations by the eldest Sons are the shortest.

## E R R A T A.

PREF. pag. 2. line 11. for *de Typographia liberanda* read entitul'd *Areopagetica*. p. 6. l. antep. for *Seldarii* r. *Soldarii*. p. 22. l. 17. for *mentioned* r. *maintained*. p. 157. l. antep. for *dabit* r. *tulit*. p. 198. l. 25. after *nearest* it r. of but one inch in Diameter. p. 237. l. 25. for *Antiquities* r. *Antiquaries*. p. 177. in the Note for *Autumnal Solstice* r. *Autumnal Equinox*. p. 288. l. 27. for *Egypt* r. *Judea*. p. 327. l. 28. before *Carpenters* r. *Letters*. p. 366. l. 9. a fine r. of the proportion of the surface opposed to the Motion of the cylinder: p. 368. l. 6. a fine r. of equal and given lines. p. 369. l. 3: a fine for motion r. force.

A N



A N

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